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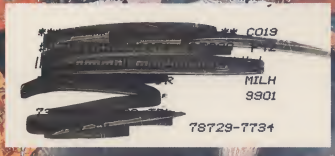

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Left: *Conwy (or Conway) Castle is still regarded with mixed feelings by the Welsh. Although it is a great tourist attraction, the castle also stands as a monument to the English king who built it in order to consolidate his rule over northern Wales (story, P. 50).*

Cover: *Mounted atop an elephant, Abu-al-Fath Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar leads his warriors across the Ganges River during one of his expeditions of conquest. The Mogul emperor known in Western history books as Akbar the Great would face his greatest military challenge at the towering fortress city of Chitor (story, P. 58).*

Cover art: Courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum

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By Joe Lieberman

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A civilian's essay on obedience to duty had a profound effect on military attitudes.
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Commodore Robert F. Stockton stared in disbelief. Had America's most powerful gun killed the president of the United States?
By Bill Breninghouse

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Long after it ended, the Civil War haunted a Northerner and his Southern betrothed.
By C. Brian Kelly

26 KANSAS VOLUNTEERS ON THE LINE
By Roy Bird

"Swamps and jungles barred the passage," wrote a *Harper's* magazine correspondent on the embattled Philippine island of Luzon in March 1899. "But those fellows from Kansas under Colonel [Frederick C.] Funston did not seem to mind it much."

34 JOURNAL OF INFANTRY CAPTAIN JACOB KREPS
By A.B. Feuer

As they approached Pasig on March 13, 1899, Kreps' troops wondered what animal was making the whistling sounds they heard. "Then another whistle," wrote Kreps, "and the men quickly realized that they were hearing their first hostile bullets."

42 FINLAND'S ACE OF ACES
Interview by Jon Guttman

In two wars, Ilmari Juutilainen and his fellow pilots helped preserve their country's independence and taught the Soviet Union a lesson: "If you threaten Finns, they do not become frightened—they become angry. And they never surrender."

50 KING EDWARD'S CONQUEST OF WALES
By Paul V. Walsh

Never before had the Welsh faced so systematic an invasion as that devised by England's King Edward I. Moreover, he was launching his campaign in the dead of winter.

58 STORMING THE LAST HINDU FORTRESS
By Jeffrey Say Seck Leong

A 9th-century Hindu chronicle described the mountain fortress of Chitor as "within the grasp of no foe." On October 20, 1567, the Mogul emperor Akbar commenced a 4-month siege to disprove that claim.

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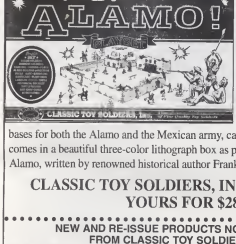

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A century after resisting American imperialism, the Philippines stand as one of its more favorable legacies.

This month marks the centennial of an event that would affect the future of two nations—both for better and for worse. In the years prior to the Spanish-American War, Filipino nationalists had struggled for representation in the Spanish court and, despairing of that, for complete independence. On June 12, 1898, Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy declared Philippine independence and welcomed the first U.S. forces to arrive as liberators. He would soon be disappointed.

FROM HARPER'S HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES

Filipino troops prepare for war in the suburbs of Manila shortly after Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy's renunciation of American annexation on January 10, 1899.

After Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States in the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, President William S. McKinley announced that the United States would annex the islands "for their own good." On January 10, 1899, Aguinaldo and his followers renounced the Treaty of Paris. On February 4, the first shots were fired in a brutal conflict—referred to in American history books as the Philippine Insurrection, but remembered by Filipinos as the Philippine-American War—that would eventually tie down 100,000 American troops.

The Philippine independence movement was dealt a decisive blow on March 23, 1901, when Aguinaldo was captured by Brig. Gen. Frederick C. Funston, who had already received the Medal of Honor for his exploits as commander of the 20th Kansas Infantry (story, P. 26). By the time the war ended in 1902, it had cost the Americans 4,243 men dead and 2,818 wounded. An estimated 16,000 Filipinos were killed in combat. The fate of Americans who fell into *insurrecto* hands ranged from the hardships of captivity to torture and murder. On the other hand, it was not uncommon for the Americans to destroy entire villages in reprisal for the death of one U.S. serviceman. In addition to those deaths directly related to the fighting, some 100,000 Filipinos died of starvation and disease.

After the suppression of the predominately Christian Filipinos on Luzon and the Visayas, U.S. armed forces became involved in a second war against the Muslim Moros on Mindanao and Jolo islands that raged intermittently between 1902 and 1917 (*Military History* will cover this in a future issue).

Amid the prosperity and optimism that characterized the United States at the turn of the century, a growing number of Americans, including such vociferous dissenters as Mark Twain and even disillusioned soldiers like Captain Jacob Kreps (story, P. 34), questioned their country's turn to imperialism overseas. Over the next few decades, however, the American administration of the Philippines began to distinguish itself from the colonial rule of most European powers, with improvements in sanitation, health and education—things that the Spanish authorities had never done.

In 1928, the United States promised to grant full independence to the Philippines in 1946. A transitional Commonwealth was established in 1935, giving the Filipinos invaluable hands-on experience in constitutional government. Its first president, Manuel Quezon, had been an *insurrecto*, but in an address to his former adversaries on February 27, 1937, he put the U.S. occupation into remarkably succinct perspective: "This is what the American soldier did: While he was shooting the Filipinos with his right hand, he was teaching the boys with his left hand the English language and giving primary instructions. What army had ever done that?

"The day when the American flag goes down to give place to the Filipino flag, American history in the Philippines will not be terminated; it will only be the beginning of a relationship between America and the Philippines by ties more everlasting than mere political; the tie of friendship and gratitude."

History would bear out much of what Quezon said. As one expression of "friendship and gratitude," Filipino troops fought alongside American soldiers in both world wars, as well as in Korea and Vietnam. Veterans of the latter two conflicts include General—and, from 1992 to 1998, President—Fidel V. Ramos. After the Philippines fell to the Japanese in 1941, the Americans returned to the islands in 1944 as true liberators—and on July 4, 1946, they granted the Philippines their independence, right on schedule.

At that point, American-style democracy in the Philippines underwent its greatest test. Political corruption and public discontent led to a guerrilla war with the Communist Hukbalahaps, but by 1954 Ramon Magsaysay, who had been elected minister of national defense in 1950, had undermined the movement through a combination of sound civic action and counter-guerrilla strategy. The next threat came from within, when Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law and took dictatorial power in 1972. Ironically, his regime was supported by the United States, which believed Marcos' protestations that he was the only stable anti-Communist government in the Philippines.

Ultimately, it was the Filipino people themselves who rose up and overthrew Marcos in 1986—and proceeded to prove him and his American apologists wrong by restoring a constitutional government under Corazon Aquino. That achievement, standing in contrast to the less-than-democratic results of most coups d'etat in Southeast Asia, arguably provides the best proof of the political foundations that endure as the United States' greatest legacy to the Philippines. J.G.

MILITARY HISTORY®

VOLUME 15 NUMBER 6

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MILITARY HISTORY (ISSN 0889-7328) is published six times a year by PRIMEDIA Enthusiast Publications, 741 Miller Dr. SE, Suite D-2, Leesburg, VA 20175, (703) 771-9400. Periodical postage paid at Leesburg, VA, and additional mailing offices. **Send subscription information and address changes to: MILITARY HISTORY, P.O. Box 420235, Palm Coast, FL 32142-0235.** Single copies: $3.99 U.S., $4.99 Canada, plus $1 for postage. Year subscriptions (six issues) in U.S.A. - $21.95; Canada: $17.95 (in U.S. funds only); Foreign: $45.95 (payment in U.S. funds only). Unless expressly stated, **MILITARY HISTORY** neither endorses nor is responsible for the content of advertisements in its pages. The contents of this magazine may not be reproduced in whole or in part without consent of the copyright owner. Letters to the editor become the property of **MILITARY HISTORY** and may be edited.

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TELL IT TO THE MARINES

In the interview "Marine Raider in the Pacific" (August 1998), John Apergis' memory is a bit faulty on some details. Sand Island is not "the larger of the two atolls." Sand and Eastern islands are integral to the single atoll of Midway. The other misconception lies in Apergis' description of an APD as an "assault personnel destroyer." In U.S. Navy nomenclature, "A" stands for "auxiliary," "P" for "transport" (meaning a transport of personnel), and "D" for "destroyer," because the "fast transports" (the correct generic term for APDs) used in the Guadalcanal campaign were converted from World War I destroyers.

Elliott Stoffregen III
Valdosta, Ga.

I enjoy articles on the U.S. Marines, and I did enjoy the interview by John Moens, but he missed the mark on page 48 when he states that "Generals Carlson and Edson both died a year after the war's end."

After retiring as a brigadier general on July 1, 1946, Evans Carlson became involved in West Coast ultraliberal politics and may have run for office. He did not win. He had sustained severe injuries while trying to rescue a wounded man on Saipan in June 1944, and he died in May 1947 of natural causes. Merritt Edson died in mid-August 1955. While some people called his death both a mystery and suicide, it may be coincidental that he suffered a heart attack while sitting in his car, which was running. His immediate cremation made an autopsy impossible.

The four Marines carrying a litter case in the photograph on page 47 have 1903 Springfield bolt-action rifles and not the M-1 Garands with which the Raiders were armed. They are most likely members of the 1st or perhaps the 2nd Marine Division.

Michael S. Bortko
Glen Carbon, Ill.

"Marine Raider in the Pacific" (August 1998) was very interesting—I had not known that the 2nd Raiders were on Midway during the June 1942 battle.

Merritt A. Edson did not die a year after World War II's end, however. He passed on in 1955, after retiring to his home in northern Virginia. A lot of people are unaware that Edson is responsible for our having a Marine Corps today. The services, while coming up with a separate Air Force, were trying to squeeze the Marines out of the picture. Regular U.S. Marine Corps officers were forbidden to testify before Congress, so Maj. Gen. Edson, who was considered a shoo-in to be commandant, retired and, as a civilian, put the facts before Congress. As a result, when Congress passed the final Armed Forces Bill, the Marine Corps was the only service that was specified by size (three division, three air wings).

I had the pleasure to meet Edson twice. In 1952, I was convalescing from wounds sustained in Korea and performing public relations jobs in New York City. As such, I introduced Edson to Kate Smith for the U.S. Marine Corps' television program (her birthday and the Marine Corps' 177th). Three years later, while I was serving with then Colonel Lewis W. Walt (a company commander in Edson's Ranger battalion), Edson visited the Basic school at Quantico, Va. Walt was introducing me when the general interrupted, saying, "I know Captain Dion—we were on the Kate Smith TV show together." What a memory!

Major James Dion,
U.S. Marine Corps (ret.)
Sparks, Nev.

Your August interview glorifies Lt. Col. Evans Carlson. He was a war criminal who should have been tried and executed, but wasn't because he was on the winning side.

I recall during the war how he boasted that if any man in his unit took a prisoner, he would be kicked out as unfit to be in Carlson's Raiders. The nation roared its approval, though this was clearly in violation of all rules of war. John Apergis' comments indicate that Carlson's men carried out his policy, slaughtering the sick and wounded in the bivouac as well as those capable of resistance. Your interviewer rightly called this "a grisly incident."

Bruce Marshall
Austin, Texas

The author responds: My thanks to you and your staff for a splendid job on the interview of Colonel John Apergis. A minor clarification concerns the film Gung Ho, *in which a character based on Apergis was portrayed by J. Carroll Naish. The movie was loosely based on one of the Raiders' firsthand accounts and Hollywood changed all the names, Carlson himself being identified as "Colonel Thorwald."*

My thanks also to your readers for their corrections. In reviewing my tapes of the interview, I found that Apergis explained that Midway is an atoll and that Sand Island is the larger of the two islands, not atolls as I misquoted. Mr. Stoffregen also correctly noted that APD officially stands for auxiliary transport destroyer. The Navy made the APDs Colhoun, Gregory, Little *and* McKean *available to the Raiders. All four vessels were sunk, but they never failed to complete a Raider mission, and no Raider life was ever lost on one.*

Mr. Bortko noted that Carlson died in 1947 and Edson in 1955, which is correct. I may have intended to say "retired." Since Colonel Apergis had deep respect for his former commanders, this is the error I most regret. In addition to Edson's postwar accomplishments as cited by Major Dion, Apergis' memoirs note that he took charge of the Iwo Jima Memorial fund.

Again, my thanks and my apologies for the errors, which were solely mine.

John R. Moens

MORE PERSPECTIVES ON OMDURMAN

I found your August issue to be the best of my subscription to date and especially enjoyed the "Perspectives" article regarding the clash at Khur Abu Sant. Atbara, however, is about 160 miles north of Omdurman as the crow flies, not 60 miles, as stated in the article.

Osman Digna's full name was Uthman ibn Abu Bakr Dignai, not Uthman ibn Bakr Dignai as stated in the article. For non-Muslims the difference probably appears trivial, but Osman's father, like himself a mixture of Kurdish and Beja blood, was named Abu Bakr ("Father of Bakr") in honor of the Prophet Mohammed's father-in-law, who was the first caliph.

Robert Berg
La Luz, N.M.

I must take issue with Charles Goodwin's basic premise that the Mahdist brigade was victorious at Khur Abu Sant.

According to Winston Churchill's narrative of "The Battle of Omdurman" in *Frontiers and Wars*, after the 21st Lancers rode through and beyond the Dervish's line, "Two hundred yards away the regiment halted, rallied, faced about, and in less than five minutes were re-formed and ready for a second charge." Churchill continued: "We were alone together—the cavalry regiment and the Dervish brigade....The general battle was forgotten. This was a private quarrel. The other might have been a massacre; but here the fight was fair....All prepared to settle the debate once and for all."

Churchill then related that the Dervish infantry left the relative safety of the dry riverbed and formed ranks on the open field to meet the charge. At that point, a squad-

Continued on page 73

"BRANDY STATION REVIEW" *by Don Troiani*

June 8, 1863

Generals Robert E. Lee and J.E.B. Stuart review the massed Confederate cavalry at Brandy Station, Virginia, June 8, 1863. Brandy Station would be the site of the largest cavalry battle of the Civil War the following day.

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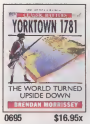

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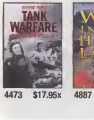

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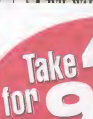

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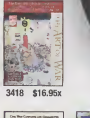

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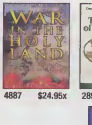

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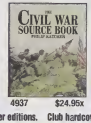

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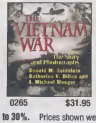

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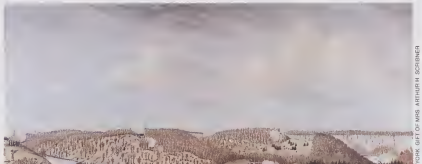
Amid the demoralizing loss of Fort Washington, Margaret Corbin emerged as America's first wartime heroine.

By Joe Lieberman



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A British eyewitness drawing of the assault on Fort Washington on November 16, 1776. Hessian troops were surprised to find a wounded woman among one gun's crew.

The British army's capture of Fort Washington on New York's Manhattan Island in 1776 was a painful setback for General George Washington and his Continental Army. The fort's fall also brought renown throughout the colonies to Margaret Cochran Corbin, a nurse destined to become the first woman to play a soldier's part in the American War for Independence and subsequently wear a Continental Army uniform and draw a soldier's pay.

Born in Pennsylvania's Franklin County on November 12, 1751, redheaded, freckle-faced Margaret became an orphan at age 5 when her Scotch-Irish father, Robert Cochran, was killed in an Indian raid and her mother was carried off as a captive, never to return. Margaret lived with a maternal uncle until 1772, when she married John Corbin, a Virginian whose family lived in the mountains north of Charlottesville. The two settled in Pennsylvania, but when hostilities broke out with Britain in 1775, John signed on with the 1st Company of Pennsylvania Artillery under Captain Thomas Proctor.

In August 1776, British troops under General Sir William Howe landed on Manhattan and gradually drove Washington's Continental Army back to the narrow neck of northern Manhattan. For the Americans it was vital to hold Fort Washington, on the highest point of the island, against further British advance. Washington ordered the fort, nothing more than a five-sided earthen breastwork and outlying redoubts, to be strengthened and sent an urgent call to all the colonies for more troops. When John Corbin's company responded, Margaret refused to let her husband go alone. Since her nursing skills would be valuable, she was allowed to accompany his unit as a camp follower.

The militia arrived at Fort Lee, N.J., where sloops and barges ferried the troops across the Hudson River to Manhattan. There they met William Demont of the 5th Pennsylvania, who served as adjutant to the commanding officer, Colonel Robert Magaw. Demont told the militia officers that two British men-of-war, *Phoenix* and *Rose*, had sailed up the river to threaten American fortified points and to arm loyalists, or Tories, in the Hudson highlands. They had exchanged light fire with armed rebels all along the shore at Dobbs Ferry and Tarrytown. As the British warships returned to New York City, they were intercepted in the Tappan Zee, where the Hudson is 3 miles wide, by six oar-propelled galleys, which inflicted some damage on them before three of the galleys were smashed. The remaining three escaped with the dead and wounded, one of whom said: "I am a dying man; revenge my blood, my boys, and carry me alongside my gun that I may die there."

The Americans then blocked the Hudson ship channel by sinking four old seagoing vessels there, while the Continental Army held on tenuously to northern Manhattan and Westchester County. On the other side of the river, Fort Lee was not much more than a camp. British warships had already passed upriver without being hit by its small guns. If British ships could be stationed there, the Hudson would be closed to Washington's army.

Such was the military situation when the Virginians, Marylanders and Pennsylvania artillerymen were assigned to defend Laurel Hill, north of Fort Washington. Shortly after the reinforcements settled in, British ships blew up the sunken obstacles with gunpowder and reopened the river channel. On October 27, frigates *Renown* and *Repulse* moved up to what is now 147th Street in Manhattan and supported a ground assault on the small river-side battery south of the fort. American gunners dragged an 18-pounder to the shoreline, loaded it with double-shot and fired at the two warships. Drawn near the fort by the tide, which was flowing upriver, both ships were badly damaged, *Renown* being reduced to a hulk. British ground forces, seeing that their offshore support was lost, then withdrew. The following day, the 20-gun British frigate *Alert* came upriver to support the two damaged ships.

On October 30, the alarming news came that Washington's main body of troops had withdrawn from Manhattan and southern Westchester to the highlands after a fierce fight at Chatterton Hill. The eight small forts in the hills north of Fort Washington were ordered abandoned.

Fort Washington's garrison was now isolated on land and in danger of being cut off from escape on the river as well. Washington saw the danger and recommended abandoning the fort, but his note was somewhat ambiguous and Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene and Colonel Magaw decided to hold, thinking they could easily evacuate later.

Neither of them had anticipated treachery, however. Shortly after midnight on the early morning of November 2, Demont evaded sentries, slipped south to the British lines and contacted General Howe.

Howe based his plan of attack on Demont's information. He would launch his assault from the south, which would lead Fort Washington's defenders to believe that was the main thrust of the British force. Colonel Magaw would therefore be forced

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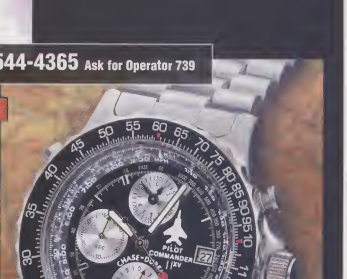

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to draw off strength in men and cannons to defend that area.

To the north, Hessian mercenary troops, commanded by Lt. Gen. Wilhelm *Freiherr* von Innkaussen und Knyphausen, had already been barged to the shore at Spuyten Duyvil, where they waited for British warships to support them with their guns. In contrast to the red-coated British, the Hessians wore long dark-blue coats with yellow flaps, crossed by broad, clay-colored belts.

The main attack was to come from two separate forces to the east. British Guards and light infantry were to attack Laurel Hill, which they knew from Dement to be lightly defended. The stalwart 42nd Highlanders were to cross the Harlem River and climb the rocky heights there.

On November 15, Howe sent a last message to Colonel Magaw: "Surrender the garrison or be put to the sword." Magaw replied that he intended to fight to the "last extremity." On the following day, British and Hessian troops attacked Fort Washington simultaneously from the north, south and east. From the Hudson, the 32-gun frigate *Pearl* and the repaired *Repulse* poured fire onto the fort.

Troops broke through the weak points that Dement had revealed, while the defenders desperately tried to cover every breakthrough with men drawn from other fronts. As their situation became hopeless, the American gunners were ordered to expend all their ammunition, firing even when their gun barrels became too hot to touch. The murderous barrage forced the British troops to take cover, but eventually it slackened and the assault resumed. The British flanked and overran battery after battery, knowing exactly where they were and how they were defended.

To the north on Laurel Hill, one last redoubt, manned by Virginia Militia and the Pennsylvania Artillery, held out against the Hessians. There, Margaret Corbin had labored long hours nursing wounded troops. She now stood beside her husband as he fired his small-bore cannon at Hessian artillery across the Harlem River and at HMS *Pearl*.

When John fell mortally wounded, Margaret, who had been well-taught by her husband, took over. Officers and men watched in awe as she cleaned and fired the gun with skill and vigor. Unfortunately for Margaret and her gun crew, however, Laurel Hill's elevation prevented their shot from reaching the Hessian infantry. Finally, Margaret was felled by three pieces of grapeshot, which nearly severed an arm and badly lacerated a breast. The Hessians, led personally by Knyphausen, stormed over the ramparts and bayoneted most of the remaining defenders. As the last of his men fled to the five-sided earthen fort at the top of the hill, Colonel Magaw surrendered to Knyphausen.

Seizing Fort Washington had cost Howe 78 British and Hessian troops killed and 374 wounded. The defenders' casualties were 53

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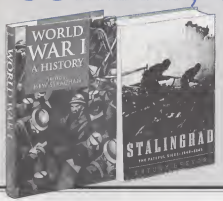

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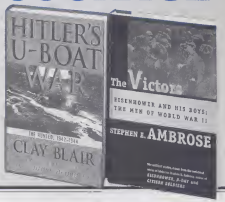

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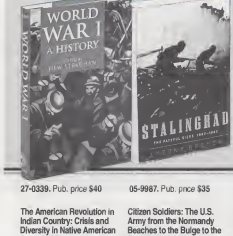

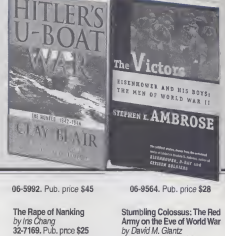

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killed and 96 wounded, but an additional 230 officers and 2,588 Continental troops were taken prisoner. The British also took 150 guns, large quantities of ammunition, tents and other materiel. The British would rebuild Fort Washington and rename it Fort Knyphausen. They likewise would refortify Laurel Hill and name it after the last royal governor of New York, William Tryon—a name it still bears today.

As they secured the Laurel Hill redoubt, the Hessians were amazed to find a woman among the wounded. They treated and dressed her wounds and later allowed her to travel to Philadelphia to recover, after she had signed a parole never to fight again. Less fortunate were 2,700 other American prisoners, who were held inside overcrowded ships offshore. Remarkably, some escaped from the fort or lived through the "hell ships" to tell their story and to testify to the deeds of Margaret Corbin.

The story of Corbin's heroics raced through the Continental Army. On June 29, 1779, the Pennsylvania Executive Council granted her $30 for her immediate needs. Then, on July 6, the Continental Congress put Corbin into uniform and gave her a soldier's half-pay for life and "one complete suit of clothes" as a disability pension.

With one arm permanently disabled, Corbin served as a guard in the Corps of Invalids at West Point until it was mustered out in April 1783. There were 286 names listed in that unit, Margaret Corbin's being the only woman's name. While at West Point, she married an older member of the corps in 1782. In that same year, she petitioned Congress for a soldier's full pay. Her request was denied, but she was authorized the full daily soldiers' ration of whiskey or rum.

Margaret spent the rest of her life at Highland Falls, adjacent to West Point. Her husband's health deteriorated to the point where she had to care for him. She became an eccentric, hard-drinking, bad-tempered individual—hardly surprising, given the hard life she had to live—and was respected only by neighbors who knew of her service record. Her penchant for walking around in petticoats and an artilleryman's jacket earned her the nickname of Captain Molly, a commonly used reference for hundreds of mostly married women who accompanied their husbands serving the Continental Army.

Margaret Corbin died on January 16, 1800, and was buried in an unmarked grave that was rediscovered on the estate of J.P. Morgan more than a century later. In 1926, to mark the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Army moved her remains to the military cemetery at West Point, where a monument was subsequently erected. A monument in honor of the first American woman to shed her blood in battle for her country also stands on the rocky slope of Fort Tryon Park in New York City. □

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An essay on obedience in industry, based on a spy mission in 1898, affected military attitudes in the following century.

By Richard P. Maida

A secret mission to Cuba in 1898, the taking of Russian prisoners of war in 1904, and the sinking of the liner *Lusitania* in 1915. These three widely separated events were linked together by an unusual chain of circumstances leading to and from a single man who never wore a uniform or heard a shot fired in anger. He was an author of novels and essays, and one of his essays would strike sparks with military and governmental personnel of three countries. Adding to the strange circumstances of that author's influence is the fact that while a popular but minor military event had inspired his short essay, his work did not deal with any specifically military matter.

The dawning of the 20th century brought with it refinements and technological advancements in the age-old practice of propaganda. Newspapers and magazines helped spread their governments' views to increasingly literate populations, and frequently a department in the military or government produced various types of propaganda, although rarely was a particular item of propaganda attributed to a specific individual.

Elbert Green Hubbard was an unwitting propagandist. Born in Bloomington, Ill., on June 19, 1856, Hubbard grew up in the post–Civil War North, influenced not only by tales of the war but also by the special reverence in Illinois for the memory of its native son, the late President Abraham Lincoln.

The son of a doctor, Hubbard did not follow in his father's footsteps, choosing instead to leave home at age 16 to pursue a writing career in Chicago. For four years he worked as a freelance writer, contributing to various newspapers.

Finding his modest success insufficient, in 1880 Hubbard turned his writing talents to more profitable ends by taking a position with a manufacturing firm in Buffalo, N.Y., and applying his skills to sales and advertising. Some accounts claim that he developed the idea of stimulating sales by the extension of credit and use of premiums.

Hubbard's success was such that in 1892 he retired from business and embarked on a yearlong tour of Europe. Upon his return in 1893, he worked in the Boston area to publish his first novel. By 1895, he had published three novels and a number of articles in several limited-circulation magazines.

BROWN BROTHERS

In his essay "A Message to Garcia," Elbert Green Hubbard, shown here, turned 1st Lt. Andrew S. Rowan's secret mission to Cuba into a moral lesson on duty and obedience.

That same year Hubbard struck out on his own, moving to the Buffalo suburb of East Aurora, founding the Roycroft Shop and publishing the first edition of his own magazine, *The Philistine*, in June. His magazine was targeted and distributed to authors and publishing houses and had an initial distribution of 2,500 copies.

By February 1899, Hubbard was read and respected within the limited circulation of his magazine but was little known outside of it. A war, a president and a secret mission to a Cuban guerrilla leader would soon change all of that.

A year earlier, on February 15, 1898, the sinking of the U.S. Navy battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor had inflamed the American public. For years prior to that, the Hearst and other newspaper chains had resorted to "yellow press" tactics of distortions and outright lies to garner support for American action against Spain in Cuba. President William S. McKinley, under intense pressure from the American public and Congress, had little alternative other than to call for a declaration of war against Spain on April 25.

Military and civilian leaders advised the president that the assistance and cooperation of the leader of the largest and best-organized Cuban rebel group, General Calixto Garcia y Iniquez, would be of great value when U.S. troops landed in Cuba. Based on that advice, McKinley asked the Army for an officer to carry out a dangerous and secret mission.

Enter 1st Lt. Andrew Summers Rowan. An 1882 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and a veteran with 17 years of service, Rowan's low rank reflected less his personal qualifications and more the lack of promotion in an Army that had shrunk after the Civil War and then even more with the closing of the Western frontier. Coming from an upper-middle-class background, and speaking fluent Spanish acquired from years spent in Chile, Rowan had no difficulty passing himself off as an "English sportsman" sailing the Caribbean.

Four days after sailing from the United States, Rowan landed on the northern coast of Cuba and spent the next three weeks traveling overland to a meeting with General Garcia to enlist his support. Upon his return to the United States, he was hailed by the popular press as a hero, as important as—if not more than—Rear Adm. George Dewey and Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt. The press rationalized that Dewey had a fleet of ships and Roosevelt had his Rough Riders, but Rowan had successfully carried out his mission without help from anyone.

Rowan's exploit was still on the minds and lips of many Americans on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1899, when an irritated Hubbard sat down to tea with his son. In the process of putting together the March

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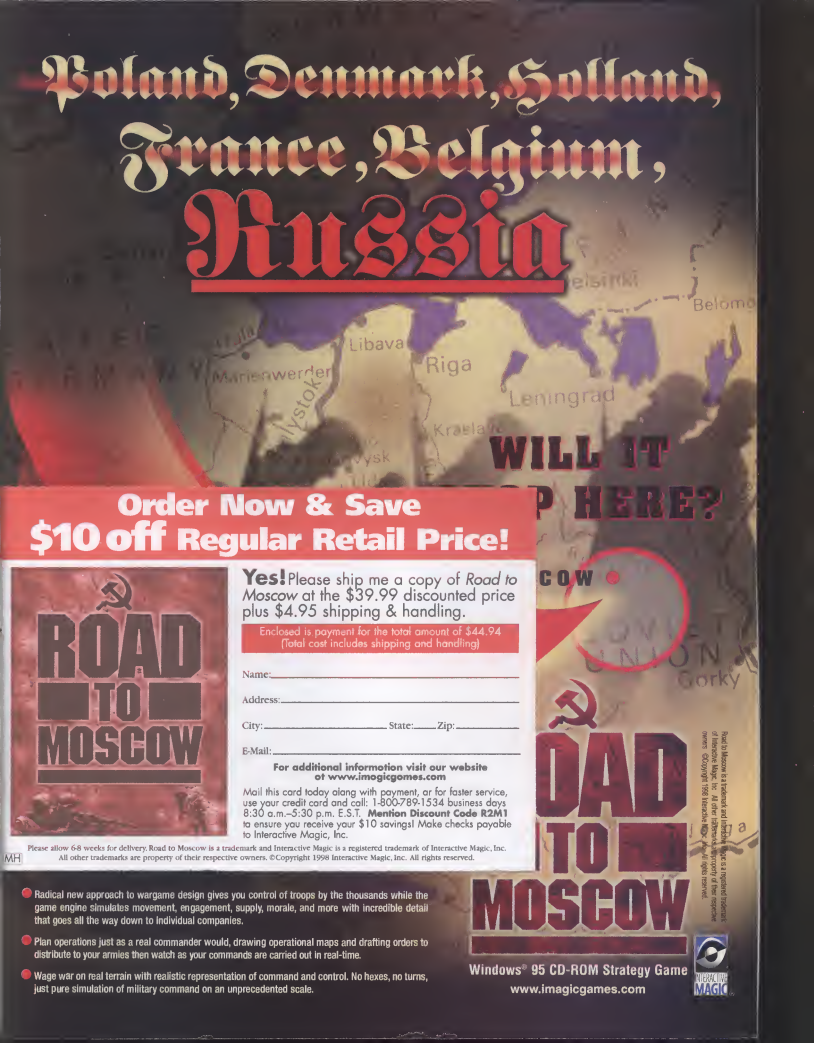

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An essay on obedience in industry, based on a spy mission in 1898, affected military attitudes in the following century.

By Richard P. Maida

A secret mission to Cuba in 1898, the taking of Russian prisoners of war in 1904, and the sinking of the liner *Lusitania* in 1915. These three widely separated events were linked together by an unusual chain of circumstances leading to and from a single man who never wore a uniform or heard a shot fired in anger. He was an author of novels and essays, and one of his essays would strike sparks with military and governmental personnel of three countries. Adding to the strange circumstances of that author's influence is the fact that while a popular but minor military event had inspired his short essay, his work did not deal with any specifically military matter.

The dawning of the 20th centu brought with it refinements and tec nological advancements in the age- practice of propaganda. Newspap and magazines helped spread th governments' views to increasin literate populations, and frequen a department in the military or g ernment produced various types propaganda, although rarely wa particular item of propaganda tributed to a specific individual.

Elbert Green Hubbard was an u witting propagandist. Born in Bloo ington, Ill., on June 19, 1856, Hubb up in the post–Civil War North, ir not only by tales of the war but al special reverence in Illinois for the of its native son, the late Preside ham Lincoln.

The son of a doctor, Hubbard follow in his father's footsteps, cho stead to leave home at age 16 to writing career in Chicago. For fou worked as a freelance writer, con to various newspapers.

Finding his modest success ins in 1880 Hubbard turned his writing talents to more profitable ends by taking a position with a manufacturing firm in Buffalo, N.Y., and applying his skills to sales and advertising. Some accounts claim that he developed the idea of stimulating sales by the extension of credit and use of premiums.

Hubbard's success was such that in 1892 he retired from business and embarked on

By February 1899, Hubbard was read and respected within the limited circulation of his magazine but was little known outside of it. A war, a president and a secret mission to a Cuban guerrilla leader would soon change all of that.

A year earlier, on February 15, 1898, the sinking of the U.S. Navy battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor had inflamed the American public. For years prior to that, the Hearst and other newspaper chains had resorted to "yellow press" tactics of distortions and outright lies to garner support for American action against Spain in Cuba. President William S. McKinley, under intense pressure from the American public and Congress, had little alternative other than to call for a declaration of war against Spain on April 25.

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In 1844, America's largest shipboard cannon wrought havoc on the government that had authorized its creation.

By Bill Breninghouse

The secretary of state of the United States was dead. A sticky pool of blood spread slowly over the deck of the nation's most modern warship. The grotesquely mangled remains of the secretary of the navy lay nearby, along with the bodies of a high-ranking naval officer and two prominent statesmen. The ship's captain, his eyes wild with disbelief, shouted orders over the tumult. One chilling thought raced through his mind. Was one of the torn bodies on the deck that of the president?

A moment before tragedy struck there had been only gaiety and excitement. The date was February 28, 1844. President John Tyler, the members of his cabinet and hundreds of distinguished guests were gathered aboard the amazing new warship USS *Princeton* to witness the firing of her astounding cannon, the "Peacemaker."

Commodore Robert Field Stockton of Princeton, N.J., was basking in double glory. This latest marvel of the seas and her massive gun were his babies. Now they had come of age. The whole world was watching *Princeton*, the Peacemaker and Stockton.

Princeton was a full-rigged iron-hulled sailing ship equipped with an auxiliary steam engine that drove an underwater screw propeller. Other ships used steam power, but their exposed paddle wheels and above-the-waterline engines made them of dubious value as warships. *Princeton*'s unique engine was actually the invention of the brilliant Scandinavian John Ericsson, but Stockton had managed to purloin it and promote it as his own. Ericsson had come up with a design of two vibrating lever engines with three tubular iron boilers. The engine burned coal and drove a six-bladed screw that was 14 inches in diameter. *Princeton*, built at the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard under Stockton's supervision, was commissioned on September 9, 1843, with Stockton commanding.

Poised on *Princeton*'s bow was the mighty Peacemaker, a cannon that weighed 27,000 pounds, had a 15-foot-long barrel with a 12-inch bore and could hurl a 225-pound ball six miles. One eyewitness to test firings noted, "An object the size of a hogshead could be hit nine times in ten, at a distance of half a mile." The big gun was mounted on a revolving carriage so that it could fire to either side. An ordinary charge of powder weighed 30 pounds, but the gun was also tested with a charge of 49 pounds.

The Peacemaker was equipped with a trigonometry-based range finder that prescribed the correct elevation to reach a desired target. There was also a safety feature—a self-locking device that would allow the gun to discharge only when it reached the proper elevation provided by the ship's motion. Its aiming and firing mechanisms were not unlike those to be found a century later on a World War II battleship's 16-inch guns. Although *Princeton* saw less than 10 years in naval service, she was arguably the most modern warship of the 1840s.

A demonstration of the "Peacemaker" aboard the steam warship Princeton *results in disaster on February 28, 1844. Secretary of State Abel Upshur and Navy Secretary Thomas Gilmer were among the dead.*

The experts had scoffed when Stockton first proposed huge naval guns using wrought iron to reinforce the breeches. He had seen similar but much smaller guns on British ships and felt that a massive model would make a ship invincible. A second 12-inch gun built by Ericsson with three iron bands securing the breech, the "Oregon," was a companion to the Peacemaker on *Princeton* but was considered less lethal.

Stockton was independently wealthy through family connections and often used his own money to finance his naval projects. When he suggested that the manufacturer Hogg & Delameter of New York build the Peacemaker, Stockton was initially regarded as being a bit crazy. But when he assured them that they would be paid no matter what happened, the impossible suddenly became quite possible. Again, Stockton personally supervised the project, yet at no time during the manufacturing process were any tests conducted on the strength of wrought iron when used in a weapon of that size.

Prior to the presidential exhibition, *Princeton* had spent the week on the Potomac River giving tours and shows for congressional committees. Reports of the Peacemaker's fantastic performance had made invitations to the presidential party the hottest tickets in town. Just a few days before the event, there was a final trial run down the Potomac. Stockton himself made all the preparations for firing except for the actual placing of powder and ball. On the way to Mount Vernon and back, the Peacemaker was fired five times. In the last firing, done by Stockton himself, 50 pounds of powder went into the gun. The ball traveled four miles and, according to an eyewitness, bounced 15 times on the ice, "in the course of which it performed a half circle."

On February 28, the throng of the capital's diplomatic and social elite, led by President Tyler, left Washington at noon on a

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chartered ferry. Statesmen's wives and daughters were in their finest plumage, and everyone felt adventure was in the offing.

Princeton lay at anchor, awash with colorful flags, flying from every yard. The ship's crew manned the rails as a gangplank was secured to the ferry. After the gunners paid a 21-gun salute to the commander in chief, an exuberant Stockton greeted his guests warmly and directed them belowdecks, where a lavish feast awaited, prepared at the commodore's personal expense.

Princeton weighed anchor and steamed down the Potomac. After a number of toasts, it was announced that the Peacemaker was ready to boom out. Although the ladies had been warned of the terrifying noise and acrid fumes, many of them hurried topside.

When the guests were assembled near the bow, the Peacemaker was fired. There was a chorus of "ooohs" and "aaahs" as the ball skipped several times along the surface of the river and disappeared, then a hearty cheer went up for Stockton.

Secretary of the Navy Thomas W. Gilmer requested a repeat performance, and all aboard seconded the appeal. Gilmer and Secretary of State Abel P. Upshur (a former secretary of the navy) stood to the right rear of the big gun. Behind them were Captain Beverley Kennon, chief of a Navy bureau, and two distinguished statesmen, Virgil Maxey of Virginia and the Honorable David Gardiner of New York.

Stockton himself pulled back the hammer for the Peacemaker's encore. There was a tap, a flash, then a sudden, violent explosion. The Peacemaker had burst at a point 3 feet from the breech. The moans of the injured and cries of the bereaved added grisly sound effects to the horrible scene. Fashionable ladies shrieked at the horrifying spectacle unfolding before them. A dazed Stockton, his whiskers and sideburns completely burned off, shouted orders hoarsely and prayed that the president had been spared.

He had. Only moments before the blast, President Tyler had started up the ladder to the main deck when someone called to him and he returned below. The summons that may have saved the president's life came from Julia Gardiner, the 24-year-old daughter of Judge Gardiner. The president and Julia were presumably making small talk when the Peacemaker blasted her father and the others to bits.

The tragedy aboard *Princeton* drew Tyler and Julia Gardiner together, and they were married four months later. Tyler, a widower, already had seven children, and Julia would bear him seven more.

Commodore Stockton, although heartsick at the disaster, would accept no blame for it. A friendly naval board of inquiry whitewashed the entire affair, determining that the Peacemaker's failure was "an act of God." To this day, official Navy reports state that Stockton fired the gun against his better judgment and only at the order of the secretary of the navy. Eyewitnesses, however, swore that he was enthusiastic about another firing. Armament experts agreed among themselves that the gun had overheated on the previous tests and was bound to explode.

John Ericsson ventured an official opinion on the wisdom of using wrought iron in so large a gun and was promptly fired by the Navy. Yet another casualty of the explosion was the progress of steam-powered warships. Because of the tragedy and Ericsson's dismissal, *Princeton* and the Peacemaker were considered experimental freaks, and only the Civil War revived the technology that had made them possible—as well as a new innovation from Ericsson, the turreted ironclad *Monitor*.

Three years after the Peacemaker disaster, Stockton hit the headlines again. Bored with the lack of naval action during the Mexican War, Stockton left his flagship, recruited a small army of sailors, Marines and ragtag irregulars and proceeded to capture Los Angeles. While that was all very heroic, it was hardly expected of a commodore. The resulting Army-Navy hassle forced Stockton to resign. He returned to his hometown of Princeton and to a long, successful political and business career. Throughout his life, however, Robert Field Stockton was haunted by the memory of that awful moment in 1844, when the Peacemaker brought death to USS *Princeton*. □

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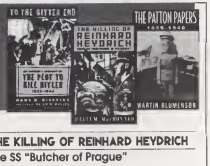

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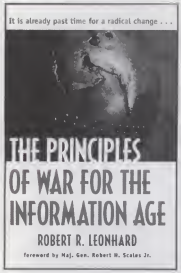
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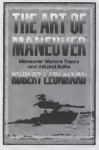

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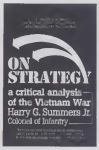

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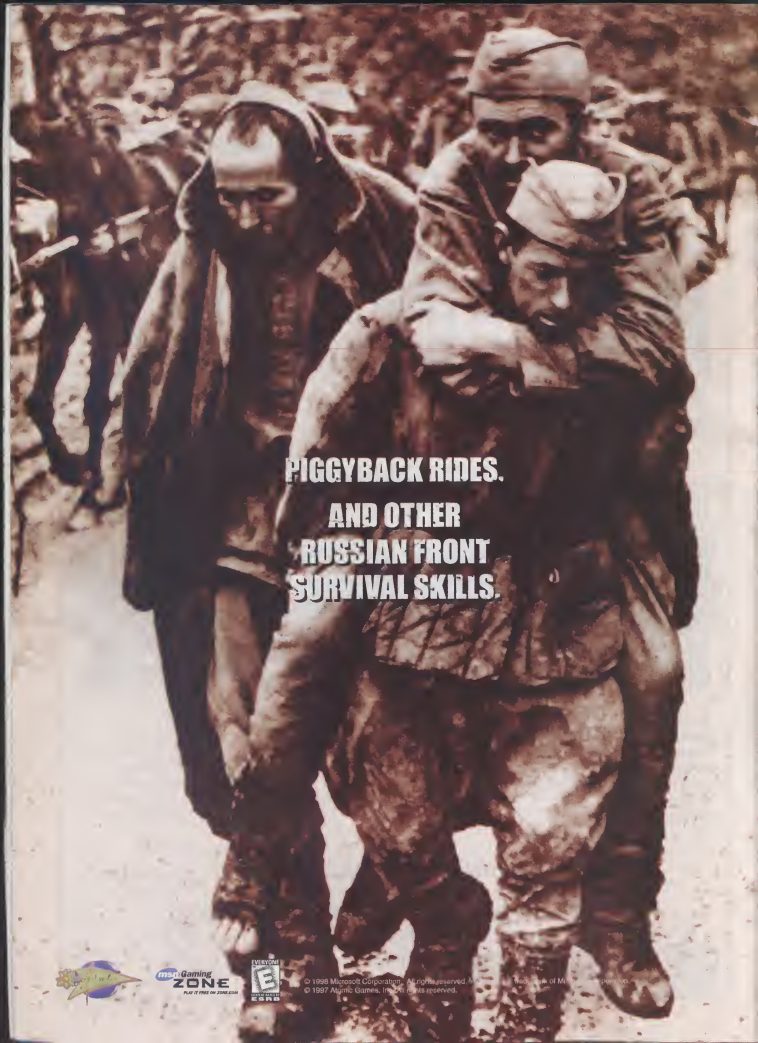

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PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION

KANSAS VOLUNTEERS
FIVE MONTHS ON THE LINE

Colonel Frederick Funston was stymied by a demolished bridge over the Rio Grande de la Pampanga and 4,000 dug-in Filipino insurrectionists on the other side—but not for long.

By Roy Bird

FROM HARPER'S HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES

On April 26, 1899, a squad of weary, hot Kansan infantrymen, the lead element of a brigade of American volunteers, tramped up a dusty road to the bank of the Rio Grande de la Pampanga on the Philippine island of Luzon. The tired soldiers gazed dejectedly at the ruined remains of a bridge across the river and, on the far side, the village of Calumpit, which was protected by substantial earthworks. Something told them that their rapid advance against the *insurrectos*, as the Americans called the Filipino troops of General Emilio Aguinaldo's republican army, had come to a standstill.

On the opposite bank waited more than 4,000 well-armed and experienced Filipino soldiers. They had been fighting for three years, beginning with the 1896 armed rebellion against the Spanish and now against the Americans. The Kansans had fought battle after battle and pursued the Filipinos for three months. Now they seemed stymied by a bridgeless river and rebel rifle pits.

The rest of the brigade began to catch up to the first squad. The 20th Kansas Volunteer Infantry, the 1st Montana Volunteer Infantry, and artillery from the 3rd and 6th U.S. Artillery and the Utah Light Artillery trudged up to the Rio Grande's banks. Crossing the river looked impossible from where they stood.

Among the first to reach the river was the 20th Kansas' commander, Colonel Frederick C. Funston, a fiery little redheaded officer who was rapidly gaining a reputation as a fighter. He folded his arms and smiled ruefully at the prospect of a crossing.

In retrospect, the differences between the Filipinos and the Americans that had led to this impasse could hardly have been avoided. In the latter half of the 19th century a strong nationalist feeling had developed in the Philippines. Demands for political, social and land reform had evolved into demands for Philippine independence.

The martyr of the independence movement was José Rizal, who was exiled for writing protests against Spanish abuses and then imprisoned upon his return to the islands. In 1892 a revolutionary society, the *Katipunan*, was founded to support independence-minded liberals such as Rizal. After an armed uprising broke out in August 1896, Rizal was put to death by a Spanish firing squad on December 30—and became the instant hero of the revolution.

Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy was both a charismatic statesman and a formidable commander. Born near Manila and educated there at the University of Santo Tomas, he entered politics at an early age, becoming the mayor of the town of Cavite Viejo. While leading the1896 revolt against Spain, Aguinaldo won many notable victories. When faced with Spanish reinforcements, however, he encouraged retreat into the mountains of northern Luzon.

When war broke out between Spain and the United States on April 25, 1898, Aguinaldo appealed to Commodore George W. Dewey, commander of the U.S. Asiatic Squadron in China, for assistance to overthrow Spanish rule. Dewey sailed at once for Manila Bay, where he destroyed the Spanish fleet on May 1. Major General Wesley Merritt's 8,500-man army then landed and drove northward along the coast toward Manila.

Meanwhile, the oppressed Filipinos were eagerly waiting to sack the city. The Spanish garrison, caught between two hostile forces, preferred to surrender to the surrounding U.S. Army, thereby saving their military honor. The Americans therefore met only

Soldiers of M Company, 20th Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment, take cover behind a rice dike as they come under Filipino fire on February 5, 1899. The company lost its first man to enemy fire at the instant this photograph (later colorized) was taken.

THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TOPEKA, KANSAS

The troops of Emilio Aguinaldo's Filipino republican army were not recognized as true soldiers by their American opponents, who invariably called them insurgents or insurrectos.

token resistance and quickly captured the city on August 13, thus preventing Aguinaldo's men from entering it on the eastern side.

Aguinaldo and his Filipinos, however, were not to be so easily denied the fruit of their three years of fighting. They pressed in on the Americans and demanded joint occupation of the city. They started to pillage, plunder and exact revenge on Spaniards, Creoles and collaborators. Merritt's troops found themselves in the unenviable position of guarding 13,000 Spanish prisoners while holding at bay a loosely disciplined army of 10,000 vengeful Filipinos who gradually penetrated the American lines to clamor for Spanish spoils and blood.

Unable to cope any longer with the increasingly volatile situation, Merritt ordered Aguinaldo to withdraw his army. Furious, but intimidated by the guns of Dewey's Asiatic Squadron, the Filipino general abandoned his foothold in the outskirts of Manila and established the temporary seat of a revolutionary government far away at Malolos. There, he awaited the outcome of peace talks between the United States and Spain. On December 10, Spain ceded the Philippines to the victorious Americans.

Aguinaldo and his followers had no intention of swapping Spanish colonial despotism for the paternalism of American imperialists. They wanted independence as complete as Cuba's. Unfortunately for the Filipinos, the new American jingoists had grown very powerful, and President William S. McKinley responded to them by annexing the Philippines.

On January 10, 1899, Aguinaldo renounced the Spanish cession of the Philippines to the United States. The *insurrectos* sallied from their trenches on February 4 to make uncoordinated thrusts at American outposts around Manila, while the *Sandatahan*—a clandestine insurgent organization inside the capital—created panic among both the American occupation troops and the Filipino populace. Only two concerted assaults took place, and they were shattered by U.S. infantry armed with the bolt-action Krag-Jörgensen rifle, the first magazine-loading rifle to become a first-line weapon. The *Sandatahan* uprising failed, too, and on the morning of February 5, the Americans counterattacked.

Among the first American units committed to the fray was the 20th Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment. About 10 p.m. on February 4, the regimental guard post had been attacked by Filipinos, and two battalions led by Colonel Funston moved rapidly to support the beleaguered outpost. Sharp fire broke out intermittently all night long.

Funston's men, cheated of fighting Spaniards because they had reached the islands too late, had put up with the jibes and taunts of the *insurrectos* for six weeks and were now in no mood for nonsense. About noon on the day after the uprising, the Kansans were given permission to strike back as part of an advance by the entire brigade. In their first attack, the Kansans penetrated far beyond their assigned objective, the Filipino trenches. The insurgents were rapidly driven from Manila to their blockhouse more than two miles north of the city.

The conduct of the U.S. Army troops astonished the *insurrectos*. During centuries of intermittent warfare between Spanish colonists and Filipino rebels, all fighting had taken place in the cool of the tropical night, with both sides tacitly agreeing to withdraw at dawn to avoid the stifling heat of the day. The Americans, in contrast, continued to advance by day behind an artillery barrage—not unlike the battles fought during the American Civil War. Shattered as well as surprised, Aguinaldo's native troops broke and fled.

The U.S. Army VIII Corps in Manila was commanded by Maj. Gen. Elwell S. Otis, a large, bulky officer of the old school who still wore his sideburns in the Civil War style. Characterized by Commodore Dewey as "a pincushion of an old woman" and by one of his lieutenants, Maj. Gen. Arthur MacArthur, as resembling "an upside down locomotive," Otis had 21,000 U.S. troops to help him subdue the Philippines. About 14,000 of those soldiers—both Regulars and state volunteers—formed two divisions. The 1st was commanded by Maj. Gen. Thomas McArthur Anderson. The 2nd Division, under General McArthur, which included the 20th Kansas, pursued the Filipinos into the hills. (MacArthur's son Douglas, of course, would have much to do with the Philippines one generation and two wars later.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Major General Arthur MacArthur, a Medal of Honor recipient from the Civil War, commanded the U.S. Army 2nd Division.

In the war with Spain and during the insurrection, U.S. Regulars fought with Krag-Jörgensen .30-40–caliber magazine rifles. Volunteer soldiers were initially armed with old Springfield .45-70 single-shot rifles whose basic design dated back to 1865. Springfield black-powder cartridges emitted great clouds of white smoke that attracted enemy attention and got in the eyes of those who fired them. Early in 1899, volunteers in the Philippines were rearmed with Krag-Jörgensens. An army inspector general wrote: "Although at the beginning of the Spanish-American War many volunteers were inclined to mistrust the efficiency of the .30-caliber rifle and to prefer

COURTESY OF THE SOCIETY OF ILLUSTRATORS, AMERICAN MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ILLUSTRATION

Attack on La Loma Church, Caloocan, February 10, 1899, *by Frederick Coffey Yohn. After 30 minutes of shelling, the U.S. infantry, including Colonel Frederick C. Funston and the 20th Kansas, assaulted the fortified church at 4 p.m. and secured Caloocan by 5:30.*

the Springfield (through long usage), their experience in the Philippines converted practically all the volunteers in the (Second) Division into advocates of the .30-caliber arms, especially when opposed to an enemy armed with the Mauser or other long-range weapon."

Opposed to the American divisions was Aguinaldo's army of 80,000 Filipinos, 30,000 of whom had surrounded Manila. Some of that force had been trained as native troops by the Spanish, but most were veterans of guerrilla warfare in the hills and were totally untrained in orthodox techniques of maneuver and massed assault. A few Filipino units possessed Krupp guns, but a third of the men were without rifles. They carried bolo knives, or *krisses*, or wooden spears. Among the riflemen, few knew how to shoot—some discarded their rear sights as a nuisance, causing them to continually fire high. Nevertheless, the Filipinos were confident, believing that since they had defeated the Spanish in many battles, they would have little trouble doing the same to the Americans.

That confidence evaporated after the February 4 uprising, with Filipino losses up to five times greater than the 59 Americans killed and 278 wounded. The second battle of Manila—or the third, if Dewey's naval victory is included—made it clear that Aguinaldo's army could never win a traditional war against the Americans.

On February 7, Colonel Funston sought permission from MacArthur to attack the insurgent forces and flank their blockhouse. The division commander was impressed with the initiative Funston demonstrated. Four companies of the 20th Kansas struck the rebel lines and drove them from their fortified positions in a sharp 45-minute action.

The fact that the Filipinos could not stand up to Americans in conventional warfare became even plainer three days later when MacArthur ordered the volunteer brigade—the 20th Kansas, the 1st Montana and the 3rd U.S. Artillery (acting as infantry)—to assault and take the rail center of Caloocan several miles north of the city. The attack began at 3:30 on the afternoon of February 10.

After a 30-minute artillery barrage from two fieldpieces each from the 6th U.S. and the Utah Light Artillery, and with the support of the guns of Dewey's squadron in the harbor, the infantry attacked and rapidly drove the *insurrectos* through and beyond the town. The Kansans were at the forefront of the advance. Once on the far side of Caloocan, the regiment halted for the night. The next day, the 20th Kansas moved about a half mile north of the Catholic church and entrenched. There the men endured constant harassment from the less-than-accurate Filipino snipers until March 24.

Caloocan was the first coordinated offensive action in which the Kansas troops participated, and Funston's men performed like seasoned veterans. A *Harper's* correspondent with U.S. troops on Luzon wrote: "As for Kansas, they fought their way straight along the Caloocan road. Swamps and jungles barred the passage.... But those fellows from Kansas under Colonel Funston, did not seem to mind it much." Anderson's division also won easy victories south and east of Manila. It seemed that the insurrection was about to collapse.

The Spanish might have told the Yankees otherwise. Ever since Ferdinand Magellan claimed the Philippines for Spain, the Spanish military had been defeating the natives in every major engagement, but they had never tamed them. The elusive Filipinos saw defeat on the battlefield as a signal to melt into the mountains and jungles and launch guerrilla warfare. Were the American leaders wise, they might have taken a lesson from the U.S. Army's experience in the Indian wars rather than from the Civil War.

Lying in bivouac at Caloocan, the Jayhawkers faced a greater threat from disease than from sniper fire. The heat, the bad food, the insects and poor sanitation combined to make the length of sick lists appalling. In such conditions, operations broke down and well-drilled soldiers became sullen. For the most part the Kansans avoided becoming as vicious in their treatment of prisoners as the enemy guerrillas often were, although the regiment's lieutenant colonel, Wilder S. Metcalf, was accused but acquitted of committing atrocities while a unit commander.

THE REMARKABLE RECORD OF A REGIMENT

It was one of the most active service records of a volunteer regiment since the Civil War—five solid months of continuous fighting, marching, hardship and misery. Just to survive was a triumph of willpower, and to achieve the success that the 20th Kansas Volunteer Infantry did under those conditions was remarkable.

On April 23, 1898, President William S. McKinley's call for 125,000 volunteers elicited a patriotic response from Kansans. Five days before the call, 80 men marched to the governor's office, followed by a large crowd, and offered their services for the war with Spain. That day General Charles McCurn of the Kansas National Guard contacted Secretary of War Russell A. Alger, volunteering the militia's service at any time. The quota for Kansas when the call came was set at 2,230 men. When word of the call for volunteers reached the town of Emporia, the quota for that city was filled within four hours.

Governor John W. Leedy remembered Frederick C. Funston, the only man in Kansas who had seen military service against the Spanish, and Funston immediately began the work of raising three regiments. Recruiting went well—in fact, four regiments ranging in number from 850 to 1,300 men, three white and one with black enlisted men and white officers, were raised. The council of the University of Kansas issued a circular advising students to consider their futures before enlisting, "but if they heard the voice of honor and country call, to receive the blessing of their alma mater and the admonition, 'Go, and God bless you.'" At the university and at the State Normal School in Emporia, members of the senior classes who enlisted were granted their diplomas without waiting for graduation. At Washburn College in Topeka, one of the professors, William A. Harshbarger, took a leave of absence to become an officer of the "college company" of a regiment that consisted entirely of students.

Funston himself had been in his native state speaking out in support of the Cubans' war for independence and against the Spanish. He agreed to help Leedy recruit in return for command of one of the regiments that went into federal service. The governor appointed him colonel of the 20th Kansas. The story is told that Funston read a book about military tactics as he traveled west by train. When his father asked him what he knew about tactics, Funston responded, "Not much, but I am half way through this book and by the time I reach San Francisco, I will have mastered it."

The Kansas adjutant general decided that the numbering of the state's regiments would follow those of the 17 regiments raised there during the Civil War and the two recruited during the Indian wars. Accordingly, the first Kansas regiment mustered in was the 20th, composed of 12 companies and 1,300 men.

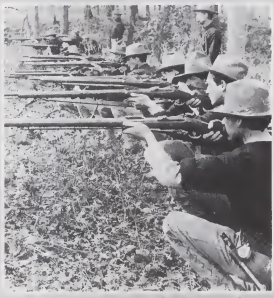
The regiment assembled near Topeka at Camp Leedy (named after the governor), where the men were examined and mustered into federal service. By May 5, the 20th Kansas was awaiting orders. Initially, all volunteers were armed with the Springfield .45-70–caliber, a single-shot rifle that used smoke-belching black-powder cartridges, the basic design of which dated back to 1865. Replacement "smokeless" cartridges were "not a success" according to an Army inspector general in the Philippines in an 1899 field report, "and its range is faulty." Beginning early in 1899, volunteers in the Philippines turned in the Springfields in exchange for the new .30-40 Krag-Jörgensen Model 1898 magazine-loading rifles.

On May 16, 1898, the regiment broke camp at Topeka and shipped out by rail under command of Lt. Col. Wilder S. Metcalf for training at the Presidio near San Francisco. After training all summer and much of the fall, and after the protocol that largely ended the fighting with Spain was signed, the regiment embarked on the steamships *Indiana* and *Newport* to the Philippines.

Indiana steamed for Manila by way of the recently annexed U.S. protectorate in the Hawaiian Islands on October 22, 1898, carrying the 2nd and 3rd battalions. On November 8, the men went ashore at Honolulu to cast their votes in the national election. At San Francisco the same day, the men of the 1st Battalion boarded *Newport*, on which voting booths had been set up for the Kansans to vote, and the steamer sailed on November 9. All three battalions were together at Manila by December 6.

With the mid-August protocol many volunteers felt their service was completed. The 22nd Kansas was mustered out on November 3, and the 21st Regiment ended its enlistment on December 10, on the same day the Treaty of Paris was signed. At about that same time the 20th settled into quarters in an empty Manila tobacco warehouse. With the war over, the 20th's obligation expired, yet the regiment almost unanimously agreed to remain until regulars arrived in relief. Thus, the regiment was in Manila when the Filipinos attacked.

The 20th spent 140 days on the firing line, driving the *insurrectos* far to the north of Manila, constantly marching through oppressive heat and humidity and jungle overgrowth. They lost 68 dead, many more wounded—including Lt. Col. Metcalf, who was wounded twice—but only four deserted.



THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TOPEKA, KANSAS

Troops of the 20th Kansas, armed with antiquated Springfield .45-70–caliber single-shot rifles, form a skirmish line outside Manila.

The Kansans embarked on the transport steamer *Tartar* on September 2, 1899, after recovering from their combat duty, which ended in June. The next day their ship left the Philippines, just six months after they were eligible to be discharged. The evening of October 10, as *Tartar* approached San Francisco, tugs bearing the governor of Kansas, other state officials and members of the press steamed through heavy seas to greet the regiment, considered a band of heroes. After being mustered out on October 28, 1899, the men boarded a train for their last trip together as a unit as they returned home. On November 3, a reception at Topeka drew citizens from all parts of the state present to honor the "Twentieth boys," who, the people thought, had added a brilliant page to the military annals of Kansas. **R.B.**

General Otis, totally confident that orthodox warfare tactics would prevail, ordered the pursuit of the Filipinos. On March 25, the 20th Kansas pulled up stakes with the rest of the brigade. The ensuing campaign would keep the two armies in contact for weeks and would create the reputation of the 20th Kansas.

The objective at the outset of the campaign was the capture of Malolos. Aguinaldo and his officers planned to have his provisional capital well fortified and established outposts at each crossroad village and river crossing between Manila and Malolos.

At 6:30 a.m. on March 25, the brigade moved with MacArthur's division as the American forces swung northwest in a sweeping left flank movement until they were stopped at the Tulijan River, where the Filipinos were entrenched on the north bank. The 20th Kansas had the honor of crossing the Tulijan first, and the 2nd and 3rd battalions crossed by company under heavy fire. Company E, commanded by Captain William J. Watson, met the stiffest resistance, but by 9 a.m. the whole regiment was on the river's north bank and driving the enemy from trenches and rifle pits.

After a day's march, Aguinaldo's forces made another stand at the Marilao River. Once again the Kansans were the lead element of the brigade, and shortly after noon on March 27, Companies H and I came under lively fire. Unable to dislodge the stubborn freedom fighters, Funston tried a tactic that would later stand him in good stead. Personally taking charge of a platoon of Company C in his regiment, he crossed the Marilao on a raft and took the Filipinos by surprise in the rear, capturing 28 rebel marksmen with their Spanish Mauser rifles in addition to killing and wounding many. The colonel–cum–platoon leader then rejoined the regiment, and the whole command crossed the river at the town of Marilao.

The river crossing was completed without resistance, but the insurgents counterattacked just outside the town. The Kansans met the fierce assault, turned it back and forced the Filipino lines even farther north past the Guiguinto River. There, the running battle was renewed late in the afternoon, when Funston's rapid advance was checked by spirited fire from the enemy. The Americans formed a skirmish line, and after a sharp 20-minute fight, the *insurrectos* withdrew.

At about 2:30 p.m. on March 30, the 20th's advance continued, with the 1st Battalion in support, to the main road leading into Malolos. There, the American troops met renewed resistance, and the line halted for the night. On the 31st the 20th Kansas, on the right wing of the brigade, advanced on Malolos. Funston, with a small detachment of Company E, pushed forward in front of the brigade, entering the city's public square in the face of light resistance. A defensive line was established about a mile north of Malolos, where the brigade rested. After the fall of the rebel capital, the Associated Press cabled, "Colonel Funston, always at the front, was the first man in Malolos, followed by a group of dashing Kansans."

If Funston made an impression as an aggressive officer, the opposition also earned great respect. Aguinaldo conducted a skillful retreat while establishing an independent Philippine republic-in-exile, defending a series of temporary capitals and maintaining some 80,000 Filipino countrymen in the semblance of an army. It is remarkable that, despite heavy casualties and repeated tactical defeats, Filipino morale remained high and Aguinaldo's army continued to be a force to be reckoned with.

Active operations for the American troops resumed on April 25, when MacArthur received permission to advance north again. The brigade—chiefly the 20th Kansas in conjunction with the 1st Montana—moved out against insurgent entrenchments north of the Bagbag River. The Americans manned the guns of an armored train that had rolled north from Malolos to within a half mile of the Filipino works and unleashed a spirited but short-lived artillery barrage on the enemy's hastily dug trenches. Company K of the 20th Kansas then advanced at the double-quick to the river and drove the Filipino defenders from their entrenched position.

THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TOPEKA, KANSAS

Troops of the 20th Kansas provide covering fire for comrades crossing the Rio Grande de Pampanga at Calumpit on April 27. Privates William Trembley and Edward White later received Medals of Honor.

The new advance in April started out just like the strikes conducted in February and March. Each of those had been 10 days of wicked firefights, sniper incidents and *kriss*-swinging charges by the natives—all in all, a miserable prospect. On April 26, the advance continued until it reached Calumpit. Incessant gunfire by the entrenched rebels was maintained for the rest of that day and well into the night. The advance stalled as the Kansans surveyed the most forbidding works they had yet encountered.

Calumpit itself was little more than a large village, but it was at the north end of the only bridge across the Rio Grande de la Pampanga—the largest river in the province of Pampanga. The bridge had been partially destroyed before the Americans drew abreast of the town. It could not be crossed under fire, and fording the river to assault the Filipino breastworks was suicidal—more than enough Kansans had already died or been severely wounded during Aguinaldo's successive delaying actions.

Sniper fire broke out as the Filipinos tried to pick off individual Americans on the east shore. The Yanks returned the favor, taking potshots to make the *insurrectos* keep their heads low. As more and more U.S. volunteers arrived, an incessant firefight raged off and on for the remainder of the day and through the night.

The night of April 26 witnessed a low point in the morale of the 20th Kansas. The regiment's spirits had been generally high until then—of 1,300 troops enlisted, only four had deserted. But, of course, where would they go if they deserted on Luzon?

On the night before the battle, Reseil Manahan, a high school boy from Topeka, took out the Bible he had carried with him from home and read the 91st Psalm to bolster his spirits. Others lay in the hastily

THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TOPEKA, KANSAS

Promoted to command a brigade, Brig. Gen. "Fighting Fred" Funston (seated in front, fourth from left) poses with the 20th Kansas shortly before his former regiment's return to the United States.

made camp, weary, discouraged and homesick, when someone called out the old University of Kansas war cry, "Rock, Chalk, Jayhawk, K.U." It was taken up by others and sounded all around the camp.

The incessant firing by the *insurrectos* continued into the morning of April 27. The regimental scouts sought alternatives to crossing the deep, fast-flowing river. An artillery bombardment by the two small fieldpieces of the Utah Light Artillery, and two more from the 6th U.S. Artillery, failed to dislodge the Filipino troops from Aguinaldo's well-planned entrenchments. After being driven back across the bridge, one Kansas company tried to ford the river, but the Filipino snipers kept them hopping, and several Kansans almost drowned when they slipped on the rocks and fell into the swift white water of the Rio Grande.

Such was the situation as Funston stood, arms folded, appraising an advance that had come to a standstill. It was then that a small bamboo raft was discovered and brought to the colonel's attention. Funston promptly recalled his success at the Marilao River and saw a way to keep the drive alive. However, this raft could not be poled or paddled across the Rio Grande as the one on the Marilao had been. Instead, two privates—William B. Trembley and Edward White—volunteered to swim the river and attach a towrope on the opposite shore.

The two Kansas soldiers, both of them farm boys, stripped off their uniforms, tied the rope in loops, and each slipped a loop over his head and one arm. As soon as they neared the shore, heavy small-arms fire erupted from Aguinaldo's men, forcing Trembley and White to duck out of sight under the water, to take cover behind rocks and to dodge a quarter mile south below the railroad bridge. Under the protective fire of their own comrades, they accomplished their volunteer mission and fastened the rope to the Filipino trenches.

The raft made its first trip carrying Funston and seven others, who used the towrope Trembley and White had stretched across the chasm to pull the bamboo raft across the dangerous river. Several minutes later and more than 400 yards below the railroad bridge, the eight Kansans joined the two swimmers.

The rope ferry worked effectively, but Mauser bullets ripped into the water and ricocheted off the river rocks. Nevertheless, volunteers from various companies of the 20th Kansas crossed over to Funston's little beachhead. The activity on the *insurrectos'* flank did not go unnoticed, but the Filipinos were so well-entrenched that the threat posed by the 20th Kansas seemed minor to them.

As soon as Funston had brought over 45 men on his rope-and-raft ferry, he drew a Colt revolver from his holster and personally led them in the assault. Instead of striking the flank as might have been expected, considering the point at which the crossing was made, Funston led his handful of volunteers to the rear. The Kansans opened up a withering fire with their Krags, creating a cross-fire in concert with the U.S. troops on the other side of the river that the Filipinos could not withstand. The trenches in front of Funston's force were abandoned, and the Kansans moved in.

Methodically, the tiny force fought up and down the trenches, forcing the *insurrectos* from their positions. The damaged portion of the bridge was then repaired, and the remainder of the 20th Kansas, along with the 1st Montana, crossed along the railroad and drove the remaining insurgents northward through the town of Calumpit.

Calumpit was not given up without a fight. At the bridge the firing had dropped off as the Filipinos, armed with rifles, withdrew. In the town the Americans were met by *kriss*-wielding natives and engaged in occasional hand-to-hand combat. It was the stiffest resistance the 20th Kansas would face in its tour of duty. Although the Jayhawkers gave better than they got, casualties ran high. Among those who fell was 17-year-old Reseil Manahan.

For their heroism at the Rio Grande de la Pampanga and in the enemy trenches before Calumpit, Trembley, White and Funston each received the Medal of Honor. A week after the battle, Funston was promoted to the rank of brigadier general of volunteers. MacArthur was moved up to command of U.S. forces in the Philippines when Otis left, and Funston was given command of his old brigade.

The brigade still included the 1st Montana and the 20th Kansas, now commanded by Colonel Wilder S. Metcalf. The new commander was only slightly less energetic and ambitious than Funston. With MacArthur making strategic plans and "Fighting Fred" Funston giving the tactical orders, the brigade moved north quickly, facing only token resistance. Skirmishes at Apallit, San Tomas and San Fernando slowed the advance briefly, but by late June the brigade threatened another temporary capital established by Aguinaldo.

June also brought about the beginning of the rainy season in the Philippines. No one wanted to fight during daily typhoons, and fighting gradually diminished. By that time, much of the fighting had changed to guerrilla warfare, which continued for the next year and a half. It was a glad group of Kansans who were relieved and returned to Manila after 140 days of fighting across marshy flooded rice paddies, through stagnant swamps, over mountains, across innumerable rivers and through nearly impassable bamboo jungles. Funston would ultimately strike the decisive blow of the war when he managed to capture Aguinaldo on March 23, 1901.

Four decades later, Americans and Filipinos would fight side by side against the invading Japanese. And two decades after that, Americans would be engaged in another jungle war, this one in Vietnam, fought under similar conditions but with remarkably different results. □

Kansas historian Roy Bird works for the Kansas State Library in Topeka. For further reading, he recommends: Memories of Two Wars: Cuban and Philippine Experiences, *by Frederick C. Funston.*

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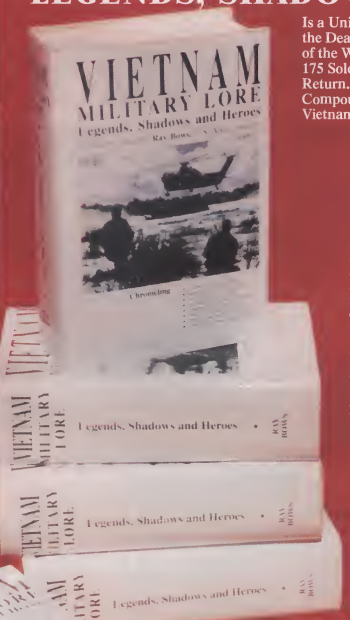

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CAPTAIN JACOB KREPS

As his troopship arrived in March 1899, Captain Kreps saw ominous clouds of smoke rising around Manila Bay. 'Farewell to my hopes for a peaceful sojourn in our country's new possession,' he wrote ruefully.

By A.B. Feuer

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FROM KREPS COLLECTION

Left: United States Army soldiers round up Filipino prisoners outside the town of Pasig on March 15, 1899. Below: Jacob F. Kreps as a cadet at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., in 1882. He would serve in the Army until 1914, retiring with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

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CAPTAIN JACOB KREPS

FROM HAIN'S HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES

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On June 12, 1898, Aguinaldo issued a declaration of independence for the Philippines. During the following seven months his followers captured weakly garrisoned U.S. Army posts throughout the islands, obtaining large quantities of arms and ammunition. On December 10, Aguinaldo's suspicions concerning American intentions were confirmed when the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Spanish-American War, included the cession of the Philippines to the United States. In addition, President William S. McKinley announced his decision to make the islands an American protectorate "for their own good." On January 10, 1899, Aguinaldo renounced the Treaty of Paris and proclaimed an independent republic in the Philippines.

On February 4, 1899, Filipino troops fought a sharp battle with Americans at a Nebraska regimental outpost. Aguinaldo then promptly declared a state of war.

One of the U.S. army units that would become involved in the war was the 22nd U.S. Infantry Regiment, which had already participated in the taking of Santiago, Cuba. Of the 27 officers and 500 enlisted men carried on the 22nd's muster roll during the Santiago campaign, only five officers and 187 men remained when the unit re-

***Left:** United States Army soldiers round up Filipino prisoners outside the town of Pasig on March 15, 1899. **Below:** Jacob F. Kreps as a cadet at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., in 1882. He would serve in the Army until 1914, retiring with the rank of lieutenant colonel.*

COURTESY OF A.B. FEUER

On February 4, 1899, President Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy declared, "Peace and friendly relations between the Philippines and American forces of occupation are broken, and the latter will be treated as enemies—with the limits prescribed by the laws of war."

turned to Camp Crook, Neb., in September 1898—and many of those subsequently succumbed to yellow fever. Even while the 22nd was in this decimated state, however, orders came through to expand the regiment from eight to 12 companies. Veterans were split up from the old units to form new groups.

Captain Jacob F. Kreps was given command of the last regimental component assembled—M Company—and he soon began recording his unit's operations in a personal journal. He remembered the first rookie assigned to his organization, Private Henry W. Johnson. "He was a smooth faced, lighthaired boy from the farming district of Illinois," Kreps wrote. "Johnson was quiet and retiring in his manner—and assuredly without the appearance of a soldier. He seemed out of place in a regiment that, in all probability, would soon be called up for service in the Philippines—and to face dangers undefined and unthought of.

"I wondered why Johnson enlisted in the Army. Was it patriotism, or the desire to escape from the contracted circle of his daily life that caused him to take this step?"

FROM HARPER'S HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES

Troops of the 22nd U.S. Infantry Regiment await the order to advance on Pasig. Once Kreps' troops occupied the bluffs overlooking the city, the Americans were able to pour rifle and artillery fire down on the Filipino positions.

Before the new recruits of the 22nd Regiment could be taught the basics of soldiering, they received their orders to ship out for the Philippines. In late January 1899, the regiment left Camp Crook for California. The troops reached San Francisco on the 31st and boarded the transport *Senator* that same evening.

"When the steamer pulled away from the wharf," Captain Kreps wrote in his notebook, "it seemed to many of the men that the ties that bound us so agreeably to life were being ruthlessly severed. The strains of the Presidio Band, sent in to speed us on our way, played 'The Girl I Left Behind' in maddening cadence. It appeared a hollow mockery to those separated from wives, sweethearts, and babies—perhaps forever.

"A wave of miserable, helpless homesickness swept over me, and as the music of the band slowly faded, the sounds of the wind and sea took its place.

"The shores of our homeland soon disappeared from sight. And my sentimental feelings were outranked by the swaying and bouncing of our little transport—which began to cause a responsive discontent in my internal organs. The general unstability of all things maritime—combined with the hot disagreeable odors from below decks—quickly drove all personal thoughts from my mind."

After four days at sea, *Senator* reached Honolulu, and the ocean-weary soldiers were given a short time to recuperate before resuming their voyage to the Philippines. Kreps continued: "On our 32nd day out from San Francisco, the long tedious journey was at last drawing to an end. Corregidor Island was passed, and our ship entered Manila Bay. Thoughts of a speedy release from this floating prison—and expectations of a pleasant tour of duty excited everyone. The transport's decks were crowded with happy, curious 'passengers.'

"The two hour ride from the mouth of the harbor to our anchorage seemed to take forever, but finally the masts of shipping appeared in the distance. We steamed past a German warship, which dipped her colors to the Stars and Stripes flying from our foremast. And we received the same courtesy from a natty Japanese cruiser and a formidable Englishman.

"A motor launch came alongside, and an officer, standing in the boat, was immediately assailed by a volley of questions. We had received no news from the States for a month. But the ominous clouds of smoke on all sides of the bay aroused our curiosity. It certainly was not 'spring cleaning.'

"The officer's answers only confirmed my suspicions. Hostilities between our forces and the insurgents had already commenced. Manila was under siege. Farewell to my hopes for a peaceful sojourn in our country's new possession."

The 22nd Regiment landed the next day, and the troops camped the first night at the

ANNE S. K. BROWN MILITARY COLLECTION

park along the waterfront, then moved into the barracks at Malate. The soldiers were given a week to rest and get their land legs back before moving out to the line of trenches south of Manila.

The first organized campaign against the Filipinos would be led by Brig. Gen. Lloyd Wheaton, who had instructions to drive the enemy beyond the town of Pasig, "striking him wherever found." Captain Kreps' unit soon moved out. "On March 12, we marched to San Pedro Macati," he wrote. "Rain began to fall before we reached our destination. M Company passed a sister regiment—the men standing on one foot, then the other, attempting to keep dry—while, at the same time, trying to keep a fire going and fry bacon.

COURTESY OF A.B. KREPS

The 22nd Infantry's barracks at Malate, Luzon, in March 1899. The newly arrived troops got a week to rest and regain their land legs before joining Brig. Gen. Lloyd Wheaton's drive on Pasig.

"After marching across several muddy rice fields, we took our position a few hundred yards to the rear of the trenches—a short distance beyond the church which was occupied by a regiment of Oregon volunteers. The veteran outfit consoled the rookies of the 22nd with such facetious remarks as 'You're up against the real thing now!'"

M Company formed the right flank of the infantry line that extended from San Pedro Macati to the bay. To the extreme right was a squad of the 4th Cavalry. The rain continued to pour down on the troops. Kreps noted: "Many of the men were without cover—as very few took the trouble to put up their shelter-tents—preferring to have the canvas between themselves and the ground, rather than between their bodies and the sky. However, I can't blame them. In a Philippine rainstorm, a shelter-tent gives as much protection as an equal size piece of wire netting."

Beyond the trenches, but within gunshot range, rose Guadalupe Ridge, occupied by the Filipinos. "The frowning cliff in front of us grimly promised death or frightful wounds," Kreps continued in his journal, "possibly during the night—surely in the morning. These depressing thoughts possessed the soldiers of M Company—the majority of whom were spending the first evening of their lives in discomfort and danger.

"And for the older soldiers too—this wet and soggy night had its effect. Memories of a mother or wife brought a strange choking sensation to the throat. But, when this was followed by thoughts of a little daughter—just old enough to remember 'Papa,' and a son still

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

U.S. Army troops assemble outside the church at San Pedro Macati. Oregon volunteers who occupied the church and who had already seen action against the Filipinos assured the rookie 22nd, "You're up against the real thing now!"

COURTESY OF A.B. FEUER

Above: *Troops of the 22nd U.S. Infantry and the 4th Cavalry ford a river as they pursue Aguinaldo's army.* ***Below:*** *American troops engage a Filipino force near Guadalupe Ridge. Although they occupied well-concealed positions, the Filipinos' long-range fire proved too inaccurate to be a serious threat to the Americans.*

unable to toddle alone—the agony was almost too great to bear.

"The long dreary night finally drew to a close and the sun, shining in all its southern brilliance, chased away the gloomy shadows of darkness from the face of Mother Earth—and from the minds of the poor boys assembled here, in soldier uniforms, for the propagation of liberty."

At 6 o'clock on the morning of March 13, General Wheaton's brigade moved forward, with the 22nd Infantry and the 4th Cavalry advancing first. The attack line pivoted on San Pedro Macati and swung left toward the Pasig River. Trees and stumps of bamboo prevented clear observation of what lay ahead, while a series of high ridges afforded the Filipinos many excellent hiding places.

Suddenly, Aguinaldo's forces opened fire at long range from concealed positions. It was impossible for the American brigade to reply, since the enemy could not be seen. The 4th Cavalry was detached and ordered to make a wide sweep toward the Pasig in case the insurgents withdrew in that direction.

Captain Kreps recorded his first contact with the enemy: "The rookies of Company M heard a whistling sound and glanced curiously at each other, wondering if it was the sound of a lizard or some other animal. Then another whistle—and the men quickly realized that they were hearing their first hostile bullets. Heads dodged and soldiers darted for nearby cover.

"Later on they discovered that if a bullet had time to sing a solo, it would be distant—too far away to harm the hearer. However, if it passed with a zip—a tree, mudbank, or stone wall were handy bulwarks to have around. The vicious pellets were never alone—they always had companions following them."

The 22nd Regiment continued its advance over rugged terrain, with Filipino bullets constantly whipping overhead. By then, however, the youngsters of M Company had become accustomed to the sound—and the poor marksmanship of their opponents.

"We finally reached the Pasig River," Kreps noted, "and lined up on the riverbank. We rested an hour or so, filled our canteens, and had a light lunch—damn light in my case—two spoonfuls of uncooked canned tomatoes and a radish. However, I was treated to a drink of whiskey.

"After lunch, D Company was also placed under my command, and I was given orders to clear the way forward. My mission was to occupy some bluffs on the river opposite the town of Pasig. The exact distance to these cliffs was not known—nor whether they were occupied by the enemy.

"Evidently my men were not moving fast enough for Wheaton and [Colonel Harry C.] Egbert. They urged the rookies on with such fervor that the head of my column crowded on the heels of the advance guard. We soon entered a stretch of road that was dangerously visible from across the river and the city. At this spot, the river formed a T, with Pasig on the left arm. The bluffs we were to seize were located in the angle formed by the stem of the T and the right arm.

"M Company had no sooner reached this open path, when we were scattered by a rapid fire volley from the opposite bank. There never was a stretch of road paved with human bodies as rapidly as this one—but, miraculously, not one man was hit.

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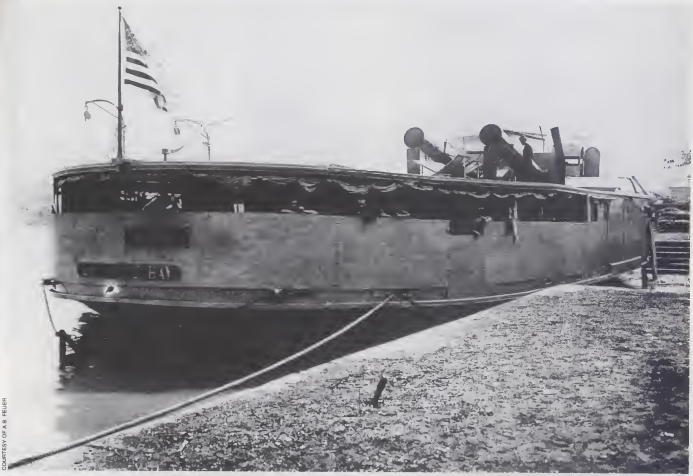

COURTESY OF A.B. FEUER

The captured Spanish gunboat Laguna de Bay *provided riverine fire support for the American assault on Pasig, her guns driving the Filipinos from their trenches.*

"About thirty-yards ahead, I noticed a steep embankment, perpendicular to the river, which I immediately occupied with ten men who volunteered to go with me. I summoned the rest of the company, and we opened fire on the Filipinos with as many rifles as I could bring to bear.

"Under cover of our barrage, I directed Lieutenant Issac Newell and D Company to move forward and take shelter beneath the projecting part of a cliff across the road from us.

"However, we still had not accomplished our mission. I knew that the insurgents were within close gunshot range—and possibly on the road up ahead. I sent D Company to skirt the high ground and come in on the flank of any enemy troops that could be dug in on the bluffs. M Company would continue to advance along the road.

"We crept forward, slowly and carefully—rifles at the ready. A grove of trees and banana plants soon obstructed our view—but also hid us from the Filipinos. The path suddenly curved sharply, and for about a hundred yards the road was cut through a hill of solid rock. The stone walls rose thirty feet on both sides of the roadway. At the far end of the gorge, the curve straightened out and came into full view of the opposite bank.

"I decided to take a few men with me and investigate. We cautiously sneaked through the cut until we could see the enemy positions across the river. The insurgent trenches controlled this part of the road—and we soon discovered that they were manned by sharpshooters.

"My men had been spotted, and several straw hats popped into view above the rebel earthworks. Each hat represented a puff of smoke—a bang—then the splatter of a bullet on the rock wall.

"We immediately ran for cover, out of view from the enemy riflemen. That is—all except Private William Reinhardt. Several times, the youngster stepped out into the middle of the road—deliberately knelt, aimed, and fired—then dashed back to the tunnel to reload. He tried this once too often and was shot in the foot."

Meanwhile, Wheaton's brigade drove Aguinaldo's troops from Guadalupe Ridge. As they fell back to the river, many Filipinos surrendered, while others tried to swim the waterway through a hail of bullets. The brigade then proceeded up the Pasig road to support Kreps. M and D companies reached their assigned objective at about the same time. Kreps described the concluding actions: "The firing was brisk and accurate on the part of the enemy. Newell, with his accustomed coolness, peppered away at the sharpshooters across the river. Two men from D Company were shot through the head—and a tree directly behind Lieutenant Newell was struck by five bullets.

"The captured Spanish gunboat *Laguna de Bay* was finally called in to support our attack. She managed to maneuver past the wreck of the scuttled *Cebu*, and succeeded in driving the insurgents from their trenches.

"M Company was under heavy fire for the first time during this engagement. The men were exhausted. They slept undisturbed that night and had a good rest—surprisingly, it did not rain."

General Wheaton's forces occupied the high ground that had been won by Kreps and his men. From that location, a deadly barrage of rifle and artillery fire rained down upon the rebel positions. The brigade then charged the city, inflicting heavy casualties on the insurgents.

Kreps continued his diary: "After the battle for Pasig, the 22nd Regiment advanced upriver and bivouacked

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

An American casualty is evacuated by means of a horse litter after the fight for Pasig. Captain Kreps lamented M Company's first losses, "sacrificed to a policy…which has as its objective the subjugation of a people fighting for their liberty."

on the bluffs opposite Patero. At this time, previously and subsequently, there was a great deal of looting and plundering—to the lasting disgrace of our uniform. It was rumored that companies of the First Washington Volunteer Infantry had fifty-thousand dollars on deposit in Hong Kong banks."

The 22nd remained in camp until March 18, and the troops grudgingly accepted the misery and hardship of life in the Philippines. "This day [March 18] was the hottest of my life," Kreps wrote. "The heat was unbearable. Squads from every unit were sent out to locate water and provisions—leaving our battalion with less than two-hundred men in camp.

"About three o'clock, the depleted companies of the 22nd were ordered to move out. There was a report that the 2nd Oregon Infantry had been ambushed by a large force of insurgents. We were instructed to proceed down to the river and move forward along the bank. I protested, and asked permission to advance across the high ground. However, General Wheaton denied my request.

"D, E, and G Companies formed the front line of the battalion, with M Company in reserve. After marching two miles, firing was heard. We could make out the Oregon delivering volleys, but there was no sign of the enemy.

"In the meantime, scouts brought word that there were about eight-hundred insurgents to our front. With our small battalion, I hoped that the size of the enemy force was exaggerated.

"As we advanced, the terrain became rough and rockstrewn—and cliffs suddenly emerged on our right and left flanks. Within a few minutes we found ourselves cornered in a horseshoe shaped depression. High ground surrounded us on all sides—except at the entrance of the shoe.

"The leading companies had advanced about five-hundred yards when the "music" began. A hail of bullets rained down on the troops. Further progress was impossible. The men ran for cover and fired back at the enemy. Our front line suffered heavy losses and ammunition was beginning to run short.

"Captain Frank Jones shouted orders for the regiment to withdraw from the trap, and directed M Company to protect the retreat. However, the wild, disorganized rush of men descended upon my troops so rapidly that our company became intermingled with the returning firing line. There was a great deal of confusion as the retreating forces crowded through the narrow opening of the horseshoe shaped valley—while we were trying to move past them to the front.

"We were unable to fire at the Filipinos for fear of hitting our own men as they rushed past. In the meantime, insurgent bullets pelted down on us in a pitiless shower. Three of my men were shot—including Henry Johnson.

"I was finally able to reform M Company as a line of skirmishers and commenced a rapid fire assault on the enemy positions. By the time Jones and his men were clear of the horseshoe, the Filipinos, who had also suffered severely, began to withdraw. In a little over an hour, our regiment had lost ten-percent of its complement—three men killed and eighteen wounded."

By the time the soldiers of M Company returned to their tents, the sun had set, and a full moon looked down upon litter-bearers hauling the dead and wounded from the field.

The last few paragraphs of Krep's journal reveal his philosophical musings after the furious battle: "I located Johnson. An enemy bullet had entered just over the left eye and passed completely through his head. The youngster never regained consciousness. Johnson's brief service in the Army of the United States was over—but his dedication will not be soon forgotten….

"The hero is usually of newspaper manufacture—and remains a hero for possibly three editions. The soldier who falls in combat needs no such cheap notoriety. If his company or regiment never disgraces its flag, but adds to the brightness of its colors, this honor is shared with his comrades.

"However, what good is honor to Johnson now? His body lies on the island of Luzon—sacrificed to a policy, not to be criticized by the soldier, but which has as its objective the subjugation of a people fighting for their liberty.

"Henry Johnson died—not in defense of his country—but rather because duty summoned him to that rugged, rocky spot near Laguna de Bay where the messenger of death was waiting.

"No sentiment nor feelings motivated his actions—only the stern obligation to flag and country—ready to meet any foe, domestic or foreign. Ready to obey the legal orders of his superiors. This is, and always will be, the function of the 'regular soldier.'"

Jacob Kreps served throughout the Philippine campaign and returned to Fort Crook, Neb., in April 1902. He retired from the U.S. Army in 1914, after 30 years of service, with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

For further reading, A.B. Feuer, a frequent MH *contributor, suggests his book* Combat Diary: Episodes From the History of the Twenty-second Regiment, 1866–1905; *and* Birth of the American Century: Centennial History of the Spanish-American War, *by Ron Ziel.*

For more about the Philippines, go to TheHistoryNet at www.thehistorynet.com and see "American Prisoner of War in the Philippines," by Brad Prowse, which will appear beginning the week of January 11, 1999.

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INTERVIEW

FINLAND'S ACE OF ACES

Ilmari Juutilainen scored more than 94 victories in two wars, flying Fokker D-XXIs, Brewster B-239s and Messerschmitt Me-109Gs.

By Jon Guttman

Neither Josef Stalin nor Adolf Hitler regarded their nonaggression pact of August 1939 as anything more than a postponement of inevitable hostilities between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. After they had divided up Poland between themselves in September, Hitler became embroiled in a war against Britain and France, while Stalin grabbed what he considered strategic territories adjacent to Russia. One concession Stalin sought was part of Finland's Karelian Isthmus, on which he wanted to build air and naval bases. When Finland refused to give up her lands, the Soviets bombed Helsinki and launched an invasion on November 30, 1939.

The ensuing conflict, known as the Winter War, ended on March 13, 1940, with the Soviet occupation of 10 percent of Finnish land—but not before the Red Army had suffered several humiliating defeats at the hands of the Finns. The *Voyenno-Vozdushny Sily* (Red Army air force, or V-VS) had suffered even more disproportionate losses to the outnumbered but highly skilled pilots of the *Suomi Ilmavoimat* (Finnish air force).

Epitomizing the élan and training that made the *Ilmavoimat* so formidable was Eino Ilmari Juutilainen, whose 94½ official victories make him the Finnish ace of aces. In an exclusive interview with *Military History* editor Jon Guttman, "Illu" Juutilainen described his most notable exploits during the Winter War and in the Continuation War, as Finland called her participation in World War II as a co-belligerent rather than a formal ally of Germany.

Military History: Could you tell us about your prewar background?

Juutilainen: I was born in Lieksa on February 21, 1914, but I spent my childhood in Sortavala. As a teenager, I was a member of the Volunteer Marine Defense Association, and we had a fine time sailing in the Laatokka Sea.

MH: What inspired you to take up flying?

Juutilainen: There was an *Ilmavoimat* base in the middle of our town, and it was a permanent source of interest for all of us youngsters. Many of us became pilots later—for example, my Winter War flight leader and Continuation War squadron commander, Eino "Eikka" Luukanen. One important inspiration was a book about the Red Baron, Manfred von Richthofen, which my older brother gave me. I remember sitting by the upstairs window, dreaming about aerial maneuvers. I began my national service as an assistant mechanic in the 1st Separate Maritime Squadron from 1932 to 1933, then got a pilot's license in a civilian course. I then joined the *Ilmavoimat* as a noncommissioned officer and got my military pilot training in the *Ilmasotakoulu* [Air Force Academy] at Kauhava from 1935 to 1936. I had the opportunity to choose my first assignment, and on February 4, 1937, I went to *LeLv* [*Lentolaivue*, or air squadron] 12 at Suur-Merijoki Air Base near Viipuri. In 1938, I went to Utti Air Base and got one year of really tough fighter flying and shooting. Then, on March 3, 1939, I was assigned to *LeLv* 24, a fighter unit equipped with Dutch-built Fokker D.XXIs, at Utti Air Base.

MH: What was training like in the *Ilmavoimat?*

Juutilainen: The international trend in the early 1930s was to use a tight, three-plane formation, or "vic," as a basic fighter element. The fighter pilots in Finland knew that they would never have large numbers of fighters, and they considered the large, tight formations ineffective. From studies conducted between 1934 and 1935, the *Ilmavoimat* developed a loose two-plane section as the basic fighter element. Divisions (four fighters) and flights (eight) were made of those loose sections, but always maintaining the independence of a section. The distance between fighters in the section was 150–200 meters, and the distance between sections in a division was 300–400 meters. The principle was always to attack, regardless of numbers; that way, the larger enemy formation was broken up and combat became a sequence of section duels, in which the better pilots always won. Finnish fighter training heavily emphasized the complete handling of the fighter and shooting accuracy. Even basic training at the Air Force Academy included a lot of aerobatics, with all the basic combat maneuvers, and aerial gunnery.

MH: What were your feelings when war broke out on November 30, 1939?

Juutilainen: I was mentally ready, because the signs of war had been so clear. Still, it was hard to believe that it was really true when we took off on our first intercept mission. I think in general the people were angry. We knew, of course, of Stalin's demands that we give the Soviet Union certain areas to improve Leningrad's security. And our answer was clear enough: No way! The nation's reaction to the war was not analytical—it was emotional. The feeling was, "When I die, there will be many enemies dying, too."

MH: What sort of preparation occurred?

Juutilainen: As the international situation worsened, our defense forces started so-called extra exercises in early October 1939. All fighters and weapons were checked, more ammunition belts loaded, and maintenance equipment and spare parts packed on the lorries to be ready to move. On October 11, we flew from Utti to Immola Air Base, which was nearer the border. Shelters

American-built aircraft fight each other as Master Sgt. Eino Ilmari Juutilainen of LeLv (Lentolaivue, *or air squadron) 24, flying a Brewster B-239, tears through a flight of Soviet Curtiss P-40s, in* Buffalo Ace, *by Stan Stokes (The Stokes Collection).*

were built for the fighters, and we kept flying combat air patrols—careful to stay on our side, so that we didn't provoke the Soviets. The younger pilots got additional training in aerial combat and gunnery. During bad weather, we indulged in sports, pistol shooting and discussions about fighter tactics. Our esprit de corps was high despite the fact that we would be up against heavy odds. We were ready.

MH: What was the Fokker D.XXI like to fly?

Juutilainen: It was our best fighter in 1939, but the Soviet Polikarpov I-16 was faster, had better agility and also had protective armor for the pilot. I later flew a war booty I-16, and it did 215 knots at low level and turned around on a dime. I liked that plane. In comparison, a Fokker could make about 175. The D.XXI also lacked armor, but it had good diving characteristics and it was a steady shooting platform. I think that our gunnery training made the Fokker such a winner in the Winter War.

MH: Can you describe your first fight?

Juutilainen: December 19, 1939, was the first real combat day after a rather long period of bad weather. I had some trouble starting my engine, and so I got a little behind the rest of my flight. When I was close to Antrea, I got a message of three enemy bombers approaching. After about half a minute, I saw three Ilyushin DB-3s approaching. I was about 1,500 feet above them and started the attack turn just like in gunnery camp at Kakisalmi. The DB-3s immediately dropped their bombloads in the forest and turned back. I shot the three rear gunners, one by one. Then I started to shoot the engines. I followed them a long way and kept on shooting. One of them nosed over and crashed. The two others were holed like cheese graters but continued in a shallow, smoking descent. I had spent all of my ammunition, so I turned back. There was no special feeling of real combat. Everything went exactly like training.

MH: What were the circumstances of your 1/6 shared victory on December 23?

Juutilainen: At that time, Soviet bombers flew without fighter escort, and that was a typical situation when our flight attacked a formation of Tupolev SB-2s. Several of us shot at several targets, and the kills were then shared, because it was impossible to distinguish a decisive attack. Later, I stopped counting those shared cases and always gave my share to the younger pilot.

MH: What about your first encounter with an I-16 on December 31?

Juutilainen: That was a classic, old-time aerial duel. I was initially in a very good position behind that Red pilot, but he saw me and started a hard left turn. I followed, shooting occasionally, testing

PHOTOS: KARI STENMAN COLLECTION VIA HENRI MAUKKEN

***Top:** After the Winter War, Fokker D.XXIs reverted from skis to wheels for service as trainers at Siikakangas Air Base in the summer of 1940. D.XXI serial No. FR-106 retains the black tail No. 3 it wore when flown by Juutilainen in December 1939. **Above:** "Illu" Juutilainen in his Brewster B-239, serial No. BW-364, at Hirvas Air Base in April 1942.*

his nerves. Our speed decreased as we circled tightly under the cloud deck, which was as low as 600 feet. My opponent's fighter was much more agile than mine, and he was gradually gaining the advantage, so I decided to pull a tactical trick on him. As he was getting into my rear sector, I pulled up into the cloud, continuing my hard left turn. Once inside it, I rolled to the right and down, out of the cloud. I had estimated right—I was again behind my opponent. When he next saw me, I had already closed to a range of about 100 yards. He apparently decided to outturn me, as he had done before. I put the sight on him and squeezed the trigger. My tracers passed a few yards in front of him, and I eased the stick pressure to adjust my aiming point. My next burst struck his engine, which began to belch smoke. I continued firing, letting the tracers walk along the fuselage. Then once more I pulled hard, taking a proper deflection and shot again. There was a continuous stream of black smoke as the target pitched over and went into the forest.

MH: What other missions did you carry out besides interception?

Juutilainen: Our reconnaissance aircraft were obsolete, so they had to carry out their missions at night or in bad weather, while we flew many daytime reconnaissance missions in our fighters. We also occasionally carried out some ground-attack missions until the last days of the war, when the enemy tried a flanking offensive over the ice of the Gulf of Finland and Viipuri Bay. Those were decisive operations, but for us fighter pilots they were also the most miserable missions of the war, for the Soviets massed their fighters to cover their ground troops. We could achieve surprise by using the weather conditions and coming from different directions every time, quickly attacking over the ice, then fighting our way back to base to rearm and refuel for a new mission. During those missions, I personally fired some 25,000 rounds into the Red Army.

MH: What were your feelings when Finland was forced to accept Soviet terms in the end?

Juutilainen: I was disappointed. We had been able to stop the Soviet offensive, they had gained only a limited land area, and we had inflicted heavy losses on them. Thanks to small losses and deliveries of new Gloster Gladiators, Fiat G.50s and Morane-Saulnier MS.406s, our fighter force was stronger than it had been at the beginning of the war. We felt ourselves winners, but now we had to give them some areas that were firmly in our hands. Later, when the economic situation became clearer, the decision was more understandable. Sweden was neutral, Germany was hostile, and support from France and Britain proved to be inadequate. Finland simply did not have enough resources to continue a prolonged campaign alone. Ultimately, the important thing was Finland's independence. We had been fighting to save that, and we had indeed saved it. I think we also taught a lesson to Stalin and company: If you threaten Finns, they do not become frightened—they become angry. And they never surrender.

MH: What did you do between March 1940 and June 1941?

Juutilainen: At the end of March 1940, we flew from our last wartime base, Lemi (which was on the ice of a lake) to Joroinen, where our fighters were overhauled. Then we gave our old Fokkers away and began to familiarize ourselves with a new fighter, the Brewster B-239. Some of those planes had already arrived in the last days of the Winter War, and now they were picked up from Trollhättan, Sweden, where Norwegian mechanics were assembling them after sea transport. American test pilot Robert Winston acted as his company's representative in that process. The Brewsters were flown to Malmi Air Base near Helsinki, and our squadron started to operate there. On June 14, 1940, two Soviet bombers shot down one of our airliners over the Gulf of Finland, shortly after it had taken off from Tallinn, Estonia. I was searching for the plane with my Brewster, and I found a Soviet submarine in the middle of aircraft debris, obviously looking for diplomatic mail. In August 1940, we moved to a new air base at Vesivehmaa, north of Lahti. There, we tested the Brewsters' performance and gunnery

characteristics and found both to be quite good. Many pilots put all their bullets in the target. On June 17, we got an order to stay at the base, in continuous readiness, so we guessed that we would again be at war rather soon.

MH: What were your impressions of the B-239?

Juutilainen: I started my Brewster flights in the beginning of April 1940, doing all the aerobatic maneuvers, stall and dive tests. I was happy with my Brewster. It was agile, it had 4½ hours' endurance, good weaponry—one 7.62mm and three 12.7mm machine guns—and an armored pilot's seat. It was so much better than the Fokker that it was in another category. If we had had Brewsters during the Winter War, the Russians would have been unable to fly over Finland. It was also a "gentleman's traveling plane," for it had a roomy cockpit and room in the fuselage, as we used to say, for a poker gang. We unofficially transported mechanics, spare parts, oil canisters, etc., in our Brewsters. Once, though, two pilots went a little too far—a flight sergeant was flying, and in the fuselage was a second lieutenant, his friend, his dog and a lot of baggage. Upon landing, the plane went off the runway and the suitcase came out. Both pilots were punished. Humorously, the lieutenant's sentence started with: "As the commander of the crew of a single-seat fighter...."

MH: What was the situation in Finland at the time of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941?

Juutilainen: It was rather problematic after the Winter War. The Soviet Union continued its pressure, and Vyacheslav Molotov [Soviet commissar for foreign affairs], during his visit to Germany in November 1940, demanded Finland as Russia's share of their 1939 pact. France and Britain were at war, and it was very difficult for Finland to improve her defenses. Then, rather unexpectedly, Germany's hostile attitude toward Finland changed. During its preparations to invade the Soviet Union, Germany saw Finland as a useful partner. Finland did not like a political alliance with Nazis, but military cooperation with Germany was the only option to counter the Soviet threat, and it presented an opportunity to get back the stolen land areas. Preparations for war were complete when Germany invaded Russia, but Finland joined the war only after the Soviets had made several air raids against Finnish targets on June 25, 1941.

MH: Can you describe your first victory of the Continuation War?

Juutilainen: We were at Rantasalmi Air Base on July 9, 1941, and we received information that Soviet aircraft were coming to attack our army troops early in the morning. We took off at 4 a.m. and after about half an hour's waiting, we saw the first enemy aircraft—Polikarpov I-153 "*Chaika*" (gull) biplane fighters. The battle started at 13,000 feet, just west of Huuhanmäki railway station. I had already made a couple of attacks when I saw some movement below, against the surface of the lake. There were enemy fighters trying to escape. I dove after them and quickly caught up with one of the Russians, who was flying right at treetop level and who obviously thought he was safe down there. At a range of about 20 yards, I squeezed the trigger. I had to pull my plane up to avoid a collision, and the *Chaika* crashed right into the forest. At that point, my engine started to sputter, while at the same time a *Chaika* was approaching me from directly ahead and above. I set up for an emergency landing in a small field near the village of Miinala. Just as I was about to land, my engine came back to life. The *Chaika* apparently didn't see me and passed directly overhead. I turned quickly after it. After a while, I saw a new target, which seemed to be joining the plane I was chasing. They flew over Sorola Island and, after getting to the Laatokka Sea, turned and headed for their home base. At that point, I rammed the throttle full power and went for them. Aiming carefully at the wingman, I fired. Maybe the enemy pilot suspected danger, because he broke away at the same moment. But it was too late—my bullets had done their work. I had no time to fire at the other airplane because he broke away at the same time and disappeared among the small islands. I was tempted to go after him, but my rough-running engine deterred such thoughts. Partly unsatisfied about the unfinished work, I flew home. Esprit de corps at the base was high. This had been the first real, large aerial engagement of the war, and our squadron had destroyed nine enemy aircraft.

MH: What about the circumstances of your downing three I-16s on August 18, 1942?

Juutilainen: We had come to the Gulf of Finland area. On the evening of August 18, an alarm came in, and the entire flight hurried into a big air battle near the Soviet island of Kronstadt. Planes were coming from all directions—I-16 "*Ratas*" (rats), Hawker Hurricanes and even a Petlyakov Pe-2 was dashing into the fray. I got one *Rata* in my sights, approaching it from above and behind. I put some metal into his fuselage. The airplane went down and very nearly took a comrade with it. I pulled up in a very tight turn to keep my back clear. I flew amid the anti-aircraft fire of eight guard ships, which happened to be on the sea below me, until I got back in the melee. I had time to notice more enemy fighters taking off from Kronstadt to join our merry-go-round. At one point we esti-

KARI STENMAN COLLECTION VIA HENRI NIKUNEN

Juutilainen stands beside BW-364 after being awarded the Mannerheim Cross on April 26, 1942. He was credited with 32 victories flying Brewsters, 27 of which were scored in BW-364.

mated that there were about 60 enemy planes in the furball. One *Rata* attacked me from straight ahead and below. I rolled inverted and simultaneously pulled back hard on the stick. I aimed quickly, fired into his fuselage and his airplane spun, crashing into the sea. Again I had to climb in that anti-aircraft fire. I was dodging one diving enemy fighter when another flew right in front of me. Staying tightly behind the target, I fired a long burst and began to think I would run out of ammunition. Finally, it fell in flames into the sea. By then, it was becoming so dark that it was very difficult to determine friend from foe, so both sides began to retire. One of our pilots, 2nd Lt. Aarno Raitio, had bailed out and died in the stormy sea that night. The enemy lost 16 aircraft.

MH: Do you recall any other memorable combats in the B-239?

Juutilainen: Yes, there was another engagement over the Gulf of Finland that was rather peculiar. We had just attacked a formation of MiGs and Supermarine Spitfires on September 20, and I was just about to shoot a Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-3 when my pro-

peller transmission broke and my engine power decreased. I reported my status and asked for help, if anybody could afford to do so. One of the enemy fighters was moving into a good firing position a little below me. I quickly rolled my fighter inverted above him. My unexpected maneuver apparently frightened him, because he broke off and dove away. I sighed with relief, then tried to make my way back to base while carefully watching the enemy aircraft above me. Sure enough, a Spitfire came in from behind and above, expecting an easy kill. I tried to look as though I didn't see him. When the Spitfire came into firing range, I made a quick, controlled roll, stamping heavily on my rudder bar. My fighter slid heavily sideways, and I continued with a hard level turn of about 90 degrees. The enemy couldn't keep me in his gunsight, and at the end of the maneuver he was so close that he actually slid past me. I quickly turned back to my original heading and the Spitfire was in front of me, pulling up to the right. My speed was gone, but the range was short, about 70 yards. I aimed carefully and squeezed the trigger. The tracers hit the target like a whip, and the plane started to smoke heavily. Almost vertically and slightly inverted, it crashed into the sea. Then, almost immediately, another Spitfire arrived to avenge his comrade. I pushed the throttle open and the engine stopped! It was a really nasty feeling. The enemy plane came in above and behind at high speed, so I made a tight turn under its nose. The Spitfire couldn't turn with me and, after a failed attack, continued its dive toward Lavansaari. I turned my plane toward the Estonian coast, intending to make an emergency landing. Then I noticed that when I didn't put the throttle in a full-power setting, the engine would cough back to life. I had again begun to climb toward my flight when a MiG attacked me at an impossible deflection angle. There was no need even to dodge. Then I saw a MiG-1 dive steeply toward the water, but it pulled up at the last moment. Now it was my turn to do the attacking. The MiG didn't seem to notice me at all and pulled up right in front of me. I had only to change my nose position slightly to line up the target, then I squeezed the trigger. The plane rolled over and went into the sea. When I again began my climb, I found our pilots controlling the area, and I joined them.

MH: Did you have any general impressions of Soviet airmen?

Juutilainen: There were very good Soviet pilots, and there were those who were not so good. They usually handled their airplanes quite well, but I think their shooting accuracy was not as good as ours. Maybe they didn't emphasize individual pilot skills as much as we did, counting more on numbers.

MH: What about their aircraft, including Western Allied Lend-Lease planes like the Hawker Hurricane, Supermarine Spitfire or Curtiss Tomahawk?

Juutilainen: The I-16 was in the same category as the B-239. The Lavochkin-Gorbunov-Gudkov LaGG-3 was faster but not very agile. The Lavochkin La-5 and Yakovlev Yak-9 were clearly better than the Brewster. The Hurricane was a rather easy opponent to deal with, especially at low level. No problems with the Tomahawk, either. The Spitfire, of course, was superior to the Brewster.

KARI STENMAN COLLECTION VIA HEIKKI IHALAINEN

MT-222, a Messerschmitt Me-109G-2 with a yellow No. 2 on the cowling, at Siudajärvi in August 1943. Juutilainen scored 16 victories in MT-222 between May 1943 and March 1944.

MH: Didn't you also shoot down a captured Heinkel He-111 that the Soviets tried to use for a clandestine mission?

Juutilainen: The He-111 incident happened on October 20, 1942. I was chasing a Pe-2 into a cloud over the Gulf of Finland when I suddenly came up behind a Heinkel. Of course, at first I thought it was a German plane, and I decided to let him be, but when the rear gunner began to fire at me, I decided to shoot back. It was then that I noticed there were no national emblems anywhere on the plane. After shooting the rear gunner, I set both of its engines on fire. Three men bailed out of the plane's belly, but they all died in the cold water of the Gulf of Finland.

MH: When did your unit receive Messerschmitt Me-109Gs?

Juutilainen: On February 8, 1943, I joined the newly formed *LeLv* 34, and on February 10 we flew to Germany to get our new Me-109G-2 fighters. We flew familiarization flights in the German fighter school at Werneuchen. The Germans had prepared a rather extensive course for us, but our leaders told them that we had come to pick up our fighters and not to learn how to fly. I flew once in an Me-109E and two flights in the Me-109G, testing its performance and maneuverability. I would say that whereas the Brewster was a gentleman's airplane, the Messerschmitt was a killing machine.

MH: On August 31, 1943, you downed your first La-5. Was the appearance of that new Soviet fighter disturbing to you and your colleagues?

Juutilainen: The La-5 was more agile than the Me-109G but otherwise in the same category. We Messerschmitt pilots had no special problems with La-5s, but Brewster pilots had to use tactics in which they flew in several divisions—one above the other, with a great height difference—to cover each other. I often used one tactical trick against the La-5 that worked every time. When an La-5 pilot got behind me, I started a climbing turn, so that the enemy pilot would point his guns at me but could not take the proper deflection. Usually he fired and, of course, missed. I gradually tightened my turn, and the enemy pilot tried to pull more and more deflection. If we started at low level, it took some 13,000 feet before the enemy began to lose his speed and turned down. Then I just rolled after him and shot him down.

MH: Your score includes seven Ilyushin Il-2s. How did you manage to bring down those armored ground-attack planes?

Juutilainen: The Il-2 had really tough armor, and from directly behind you could only eliminate the rear gunner. There were three separate armor plates behind the pilot and the engine. The Il-2s usually flew at low level, so the only approach was from above. We

attacked their formations from both sides to disperse their defensive fire. From the side and above, one could shoot at a place in the armpit of the Il-2's wing, which normally caught fire.

MH: You were also credited with a Lockheed P-38 Lightning on July 10, 1943—along with two I-153s. What was a P-38 doing over Finland at that time?

Juutilainen: Our squadron's intelligence officer identified it only after I described it to him. Our radio intelligence guys told us later that the enemies we met that day were ferrying new fighters to Lavansaari and bringing old planes out. Maybe the Lightning's visit had something to do with that exchange. We didn't see them later.

MH: Another unusual plane on your victory list is the North American P-51 Mustang, of which the Soviets received only 10. Could you describe your two encounters with the Mustangs?

Juutilainen: The only time we saw Mustangs was during the peak of the Soviet summer offensive of 1944. The Mustangs we met were older models, with Allison engines. On June 26, we had just been escorting Bristol Blenheim bombers and were returning over the front line when I saw a Mustang approaching me from my right side in a right turn, with his belly toward me. I yanked the throttle to idle to let it slide past me. The Mustang pilot, however, recovered his turn and then saw me. He also pulled his throttle back, and I saw long flames backfiring from his exhaust pipes. He also kicked his rudder to slow down, but I was doing the same thing, and because I had started sooner than he, the Mustang slid right out in front of me. The Mustang pilot then went to full power and tried to shake me off his tail with a climbing turn. In so doing, he made his last mistake and flew directly in front of my gunsight. I fired, and soon the Mustang was burning in the forest near Tammiuo. Two days later, my section was returning from a reconnaissance mission and made the usual detour to have an aerial engagement before returning to base. Soon we saw an Il-2 formation coming toward us, escorted by three Mustangs. One of them pulled left, and the other two went into a dive. In a tight diving turn, I went after the airplane that had broken left, firing short bursts to break the pilot's mental backbone. It worked, for he apparently got nervous and went into a dive. The pilot kicked his rudder, but much too rapidly, only causing the tail to waggle while his plane stayed rather comfortably in the middle of my sight. The target was at an altitude of about 150 feet when it caught fire and crashed into the tall pine trees.

MH: On June 30, 1944, you tied Jorma Sarvanto's one-mission record of six victories. Was yours also in a single mission?

Juutilainen: It was during one mission, but in three separate engagements. The first started when our four sections met about the same number of Bell P-39 Airacobras, during which I shot down two in the Viipuri area. Next I thought there was a dark cloud in the eastern sky, then looked again and realized that it was an enormous formation of enemy planes heading for Tali. We regrouped, climbed and called more fighters to the scene, then we attacked. In that battle, I shot down two Yak-9s over Juustila. When the fight was over, we continued our patrol, and the next enemy formation came from the direction of Viipuri, including Pe-2 dive bombers, Il-2 ground-attack planes and La-5 fighters. We attacked, and I first shot down an Il-2 between Juustila and Tali and then got an La-5 near Viipuri. My fuel-level warning light had been blinking for quite a while, and I called the other guys to break off. Only during the flight home did I realize that I had shot down six enemy planes. After landing, our fuel was practically gone. Also, all of the ammunition was gone.

MH: What were the circumstances of your last confirmed victory?

Juutilainen: On September 3, 1944, my section was on a reconnaissance mission, and I was flying at 1,600 feet when a Yak dashed toward me from directly ahead. I shot in his face and he dove under me. I turned around but couldn't see him anymore. After a while, I noticed a twin-engine airplane in front of me. I identified it as a Douglas DC-3 transport, having the Soviet designation Lisunov Li-2. I looked around suspiciously while I sneaked up behind it. I fired first at the fuselage, then at an engine, which started to burn. Then I fired again at the fuselage. The plane crashed in a field near Nurmijärvi.

MH: Were there any other combats of the Continuation War that particularly stand out in your mind?

Juutilainen: Well, there was one combat during which I didn't fire a shot. On March 8, 1944, I was returning from a reconnaissance mission and approaching Suulajärvi when our control center reported four enemy fighters very near our base at an altitude of 13,000 feet. I began to climb, hoping ardently that the enemy would wait for me, because it was a rare opportunity to fight this deep in our own territory. I was already at 12,500 feet when I saw four La-5s in a nice formation about 1,500 feet below me, between Perkjärvi railway station and our base. As I approached from behind and above, I found myself admiring their sleek forms and beautiful camouflage paint job. I got the leader in my sight, sure of achieving surprise. I was just about to press the trigger when, like an explosion, they broke away in different directions and tried to climb above me. They had seen my approach and waited for just the right moment. That was no wonder, for my radio intelligence controller informed me that the leader of my adversaries was an ace named Medvetjev [probably Colonel Aleksandr A. Matveyev, then commander of the 275th Fighter Division, who would survive the war with 15 victories]. I had more speed than my adversaries, so I pulled off and above them. They kept on climbing, and whenever I tried to turn into one of them, he would dive and the rest would pile in behind me. At the very moment the battle began, my fuel warning light blinked on. That meant I still had enough fuel for 20 minutes of cruise power. Unfortunately, it was much less time if I had to stay at maximum power, which was now the case. Our radio intelligence controller told me that Medvetjev had requested more

JUAN CRISTALDI COLLECTION, HISTORY NET ARCHIVES

Warrant Officer Juutilainen prepares for a mission in his Me-109G-6 (MT-457, white "0") of LeLv 34 at Lapeenranta Air Base during the Soviet summer offensive of 1944.

HENRY MIKKOLA

Colonel Jouni Pystynen (left) and Captain Kim Jäämeri brief Juutilainen on the cockpit layout of an F/A-18 Hornet at Pirkkala Air Base near Tampere in January 1996.

fighters into the battle, so during every turn I squinted toward the sun, from where the additional force would surely come. Our altitude was then about 20,000 feet, and I had not yet put on my oxygen mask. I grabbed it from my side, turned the valve open and, without time to properly snap it onto my helmet, jammed it onto my face, gripping the middle rib of the mask with my teeth. There was a nasty consequence to that makeshift arrangement. I was breathing heavily, and my humid breath was escaping out of the side of the mask and frosting up the inside of the canopy, except for the bulletproof windshield directly in front. Then the first reinforcement arrived, another La-5 whose cannon flashes I could see from long range. I pulled steeply under his nose and immediately after that pulled my plane up into a tight climbing turn, simultaneously using my thumbnail to scrape a small area of frost off the panel on the side where the enemy ought to be. Just as I expected, there was the nose of an enemy fighter visible through the peephole. It was firing and the burst passed so close underneath my plane that I was tempted to rise up in my seat. It was very hard to keep all five of my opponents in sight, especially when some started climbing to attack me from above and behind while the others were forcing me to turn. I caught a brief glimpse of swirling snow at our base 26,000 feet below, indicating that our fighters were taking off to help me. It was a comforting sight! I only wished I could hold those wolves for the time it would take them to climb to our altitude. The radio intelligence controller told me that a sixth fighter had joined Medvetjev's group. We had been dogfighting for 15 minutes, and I was soaked with sweat. I dodged another attack by pushing under the enemy's nose, turned into another plane attacking from above, then got the enemy in front of me in turn and had an opportunity to shoot. I frantically scraped another peephole and was following the enemy tightly when my engine coughed and quit from fuel starvation. I made a diving turn under another enemy fighter that was firing at me, continuing in a vertical dive. It was now my only salvation. I knew that the La-5 had the same diving speed limit as the Messerschmitt—513 knots—so I let my Me-109 fall vertically for 20,000 feet, and the speed rose to 595 knots. The controls seemed to be fixed in cement, and my ears were buzzing like telephone lines. At 6,500 feet, I started a slow pullout and turned the trim wheel. The nose began to rise slowly, but the ground was rushing up at me. Anytime now, I expected the wings to break off. As speed began to decrease, my elevator response increased and I was able to apply more and more back stick. The airplane achieved level flight at a height of 500 feet and my speed was down to 485 knots. The danger was over. I converted my speed to altitude and circled the base preparatory to an engine-off landing, lowering my gear and flaps and making an otherwise uneventful recovery. Our base personnel told me that two enemy planes followed me down, but broke off their pursuit after descending about 5,000 feet.

MH: How did you react to the second armistice on September 4, 1944?

Juutilainen: Personally, I was so used to the fighter pilot's life that I really had bittersweet feelings when we stopped combat flying. The Continuation War ended very much like the Winter War. We were able to stop the Soviet offensive, and again our fighter force, thanks to the small losses and continuous deliveries of aircraft, was stronger than it had been at the beginning of the war. During July, we noticed that Soviet pilots began to avoid aerial combat, and at the end of that month, they fled when they saw us. During our reconnaissance missions, we also saw that the Soviets had started to remove troops from the Karelian Front. This had been the only Soviet offensive to fail during their advance westward. On the other hand, as in the Winter War, Finland did not have the resources to continue the fight alone when Germany was collapsing. So we gave the Soviet Union some areas that were in our hands when the war ended. Again, the independence of Finland was the most important thing. We had saved it again and thus made one interesting point. Of all the countries in the European theater that participated in World War II, there were only two that were never occupied: Finland and Great Britain. We developed quite civilized relations with the Soviet Union after the war and benefited economically by importing oil and raw materials while exporting industrial equipment and products. But every time they tried some of their political tricks, our leaders firmly said no. And they retreated each time.

MH: Did you fight the Germans after the armistice?

Juutilainen: There was a plan for our squadron to participate in operations against the Germans in Lapland, but it was then canceled.

MH: What decorations did you receive from your government?

Juutilainen: I was one of only four people—two of whom were fighter pilots—to receive Finland's highest medal, the Cross of the Mannerheim Order, twice. [The other fighter was Hans Henrik Wind, the second-ranking Finnish ace with 75 victories.] I got my first Mannerheim Cross on April 26, 1942, and I became a "double knight" on June 28, 1944. In addition, I received the Medal of Freedom, the Cross of Freedom 4th Class with Oak Leaves, and the Cross of Freedom 3rd Class with Oak Leaves.

MH: In retrospect, which wartime role did you prefer when you were in the air—lone wolf, team player or leader?

Juutilainen: I guess I was each one of those, depending on the situation. I tried always to carry out my mission completely, so I often chased the enemy long distances and stayed in the arena as long as possible. Therefore, there were many occasions when I found myself alone, although it was not planned to be so. I lost almost 30 kills from my score because of that. In the *Ilmavoimat*, we had a rule that to confirm a victory, either the wreck of the downed plane had to be found, or some eyewitnesses had to see it fall. Many times I asked for cameras for our fighters, but we didn't get them. Most of the time, I was a team player, since that was the way we had been trained. Quite often I flew as top cover, and it was a re-

Continued on page 80

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KING EDWARD'S CO

When the king of England invaded Wales in 1277, he embarked on the first of three remarkable campaigns that would put his strategic concepts and those of his Welsh opponents to the test.

By Paul V. Walsh

Perched high among the branches of a sturdy oak, a Welsh scout beheld an unbelievable sight. A path, more than a bowshot wide, was being cleared through the woods. Making its way through this clearing was an endless column of warriors displaying a sea of brilliant colors that stood in stark contrast to the dull gray autumn sky. Prominent among the lead group was a nobleman who, at over 6 feet, towered above his comrades. He appeared to be in his late 30s. His face was comely, though flawed by a drooping left eyelid, above which hung a few dirty blond curls peeking out beneath a crown. This was Edward I, king of England.

While we have some idea of King Edward's appearance, there are no surviving descriptions of his Welsh counterpart, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, an imbalance typical of knowledge about the conquest of Wales. Only a few brief passages in the Welsh annals and in the generally hostile accounts by English chroniclers must stand against the vast volume of material that presents the conquest from the English viewpoint. As a result, most historians have ignored or discounted the activities of the Welsh. By looking at the "other side of the hill," however, a different picture of Edward's Welsh wars begins to emerge.

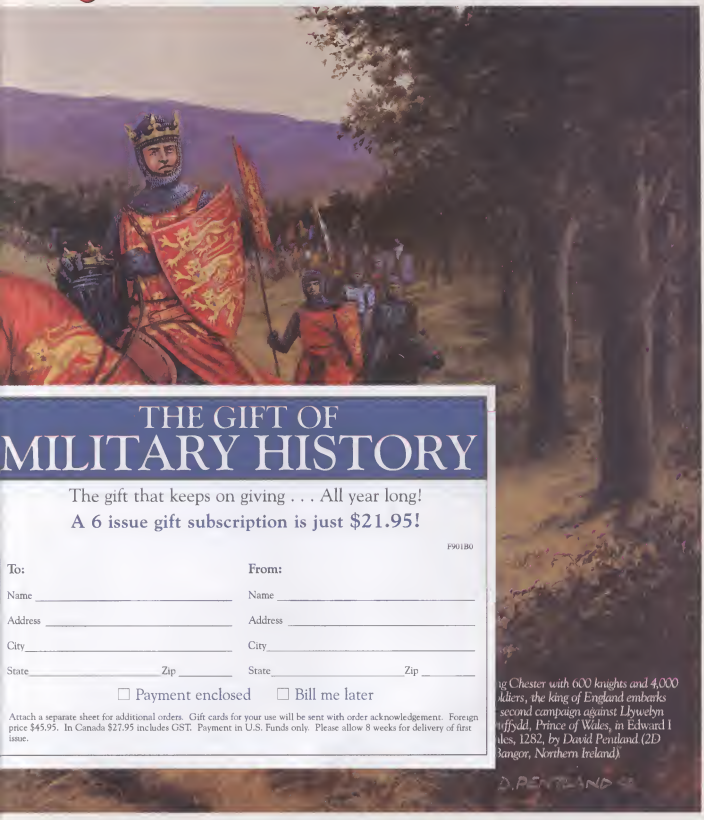
The native inhabitants of medieval Wales were descended from the Celtic Britons, whom the Anglo-Saxons had driven out of the island's fertile midlands (the term "Welsh" was the Anglo-Saxon word for "foreigner"). In the 8th century the Anglo-Saxons established the traditional Anglo-Welsh border by erecting King Offa's Dyke, an earthwork barrier running from the city of Chester in the north to the Bristol Channel in the south. While Offa's Dyke marked the end of Anglo-Saxon annexation of Welsh territory, the status quo was shattered in the 11th century by the arrival of the Normans, who conquered a border zone in Wales known as the Marches (from a French word meaning "frontier"). Norman warlords known as Marcher lords oversaw the conquered lands and prevented incursions by outsiders. Over time, a hybrid society developed in this frontier area as Welsh, Anglo-Saxon and Norman peoples and cultures mixed together. Until Edward's invasion in 1277, the country remained divided between Marcher Wales and native Wales.

Native Wales consisted of a number of separate kingdoms ruled by leaders known as princes (from the Latin *princeps* for "the principal citizen"). The most important realms were Deheubarth in the south, Gwynedd in the north and Powys in the east. Those kingdoms, however, were not inhabited by tribes of uncouth barbarians, as English historians have represented them. Welsh society underwent a profound transformation during this period, and by the 13th century it had as much in common with feudal England as with its Celtic past.

The Welsh lifestyle was dictated by an unforgiving landscape. The 12th-century chronicler Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis) noted: "Because of its high mountains, deep valleys and extensive forests, not to mention its rivers and marshes, it is not easy of access." As a result, the Welsh economy was predominantly pastoral rather than agricultural. In contrast with feudal society, that emphasis on livestock meant that the object in Welsh warfare was to seize an enemy's herds rather than his territory. Because of the practice of seasonal migration between summer and winter pastures, the Welsh were highly mobile and, therefore, difficult to control.

After their first encounters with the Normans, the Welsh princes learned to avoid open level ground, which favored heavily armed knights. Instead, they

NQUEST OF WALES



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les, 1282, by David Pentland. (2D
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NQUEST OF WALES

Leaving Chester with 600 knights and 4,000 foot soldiers, the king of England embarks on his second campaign against Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, Prince of Wales, in Edward I in Wales, 1282, *by David Pentland (2D Art, Bangor, Northern Ireland).*

relied upon the cover provided by more rugged terrain to harass the slow-moving Norman columns, which were usually restricted to traveling along river valleys or coastal plains. Unlike the Welsh, however, the Normans were able to impose a more permanent degree of control over the lowlands through their use of motte (moat) and bailey earthwork fortifications—rustic substitutes for more permanent castles. It is no accident that the Marcher lords were strongest in the broad, coastal plains of the south.

The balance of power between natives and settlers began to change in the 12th century. According to Gerald of Wales, "The Welsh have gradually learned from the English and the Normans how to manage their weapons and to use horses in battle, for they have frequented the court and been sent to England as hostages." By imitating the Normans' use of castles and armored cavalry, the princes achieved a more equal footing with the Marcher lords. They were now able to increase both the size of their domains and the degree of control they had over their subjects. The success of the princes in establishing greater order within their realms was reflected in their ability to imitate the more peaceful pursuits of the Normans. One late-12th-century Welsh source noted that they began "to make orchards and gardens, and surround them with walls and ditches, and to construct walled buildings, and to support themselves from the fruit of the earth after the fashion of the Romans." As a result of a greater emphasis on agriculture in the 13th century, settlements became more permanent, and modest towns were established, to which the princes granted charters for trade. In turn, the princes' revenues increased, allowing them to erect stone castles and employ siege engines against enemy fortresses. The growing power of the Welsh princes did not go unnoticed in London.

As with the Anglo-Saxons before them, the Normans occasionally forced the Celtic rulers of Scotland and Wales to acknowledge the king of England as their overlord. Using the legal structure of feudalism, as well as military might to back it up, the Normans were able to establish a permanent relationship of dominance. This meant that the Welsh princes were now answerable to the king for their dealings with the Marcher lords and each other.

Nonetheless, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth of Gwynedd, also known as Llywelyn Fawr (the Great), became the Prince of Wales in 1233, when the lesser princes recognized him as their immediate overlord, rather than swearing direct homage to the English king. His grandson, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, went further in 1265, when he supported the rebellious baron Simon de Montfort against King Henry III and obtained Montfort's recognition as Prince of Wales. That alliance was undone when Henry's son, Edward, slew Montfort at the Battle of Eve-

ILLUSTRATIONS: JOAN FERRINGTON

Top: After having learned the futility of a passive defense in 1277, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd tried to wrest the initiative from Edward in 1282 by striking at English targets in central Wales. Above: In 1294-95, Madog ap Llywelyn tried a similar strategy of diversionary attacks against the English until William de Beauchamp, learning of Madog's plan to move on Shrewsbury, rushed to confront the Welsh at their base at Maes Moydog on March 5, 1295.

sham a year later, but in 1267 Henry III signed the Treaty of Montgomery, which again confirmed Llywelyn's title and his right to the homage of all other Welsh princes.

Upon Edward's succession to the throne in 1274, the question uppermost in Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's mind was whether the new king would also recognize him as the Prince of Wales. Edward demanded that Llywelyn do homage to him before he would acknowledge his title, but Llywelyn, suspicious of Edward, procrastinated. His suspicions soon seemed justified when Edward provided sanctuary for Llywelyn's brother Daffydd ap Gruffydd and Prince Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn of Powys, both of whom Llywelyn had expelled for plotting his assassination. To make matters worse, Edward seized Llywelyn's fiancée, Eleanor de Montfort, while en route to Wales. (Because her late husband, Simon de Montfort, had led the rebel barons against his father in 1264, the king feared that this marriage would revive opposition to the throne.) Prince Llywelyn refused to pay homage before those issues were settled, while King Edward refused to address those issues until Llywelyn did homage. On November 12, 1276, Edward resolved to force Llywelyn into submission.

THE STAPLETON COLLECTION

The newly crowned Edward I was as suspicious of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's intentions as the Welsh lord was of his. On November 12, 1276, the English king resolved to force Llywelyn into submission.

Edward had his work cut out for him, for Llywelyn's center of power, the realm of Gwynedd, was a natural stronghold. Beyond the buffer zone of subject states, there was the deep Conway (now spelled Conwy) River valley, which acted like a moat for the fortresslike mountains of Snowdonia. Northwest of Snowdonia was the large, fertile island of Anglesey, separated from the mainland by the narrow Menai Strait. Through a program of castle building, the various princes of Gwynedd had tried to improve upon their realm's natural defenses, but while those modest stone fortresses could repulse the attacks of fellow princes and Marcher lords, they were helpless in the face of a powerful royal army.

The weakness of Prince Llywelyn's castles reflected the David and Goliath nature of the forthcoming struggle. The entire population of Wales in the 13th century has been estimated at 300,000, whereas the population of England was at least 4 million. Not only could Edward raise more troops than Llywelyn, but, coming from a larger and wealthier country, his forces would be better equipped.

Welsh armies were composed of a prince's *teulu*, or personal war band, supported by a large number of *milwyr traed*, or foot soldiers, provided by a common levy. According to Gerald of Wales, Welsh infantrymen, armed with little more than spears and bows, were lightly equipped so as not to impede their agility. As such, they were better suited for skirmishing than hand-to-hand combat. In an effort to increase the number of infantrymen in his army, Llywelyn resorted to drafting both free tenants below the normal military age of 14 as well as unfree tenants.

Llywelyn maintained a *teulu* of 240 armored cavalrymen. Nevertheless, in cavalry—the centerpiece of medieval warfare—the Welsh remained inferior to their English counterparts. For the most part they were not as heavily armed as the English and could not afford to support the larger breeds of war horses that were in use on the Continent. In contrast, Edward imported more than 100 war horses from France in 1277, merely to supplement those already maintained by his knights.

With his limitations in mind, Llywelyn chose to rely on the traditional strategy of using the rugged Welsh terrain to elude the more powerful English, rather than confront them in open battle. In order to follow that strategy, however, the Welsh would have to abandon their newly acquired castles, settlements and crops. Caught between the more mobile, pastoral lifestyle of the past and their dependence on the more sedentary, agricultural lifestyle of the future, the Welsh seemed unable to effectively pursue either their traditional strategy of evasion or a new, more conventional strategy of open confrontation.

Edward began the war by appointing a number of Marcher lords as his royal officials in Wales. Bolstered by reinforcements, they were to advance into native Wales and secure as much of the buffer zone surrounding Gwynedd as possible, in preparation for Edward's main advance, which was scheduled for the summer. Edward hoped that the simultaneous assault of three separate forces from Chester in the north, Montgomery in the center and Carmarthen in the south would overwhelm Llywelyn's outer defenses.

As early as January 1277, the northern force under William de Beauchamp, with the help of Llywelyn's brother Daffydd, had secured the area around the Clwyd River. On April 1, the central force under Roger Mortimer placed Dolforwyn Castle under siege. Believing resistance to be futile, the garrison agreed to surrender on the 8th unless relief arrived before then. Although Llywelyn was in the vicinity, he chose not to risk the destruction of his army in a battle to save Dolforwyn. The castle therefore surrendered to the English, who handed it over to their ally, Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, now reinstated as the prince of southern Powys. Meanwhile, in January the southern force under Payn fitz Patrick de Chadworth had begun its assault on the Welsh castles that controlled the Tywi Valley. With the fall of Dynefwr Castle on April 11, the local ruler, Rhys ap Maredudd, switched his allegiance to the English. Unfortunately for Llywelyn, he would not be the last to defect. Command of the southern force was transferred to Edward's brother, Edmund "Crouchback" of Lancaster, who led his troops out of the Tywi Valley and into the coastal region of Ceredigion, which he subdued.

On July 1, Edward left the assembly point of Worcester with the main army and arrived at Chester on the 15th. Llywelyn, who must have been kept informed of those developments, sent the Bishop of Bangor to Edward

PHOTOS: JEFFREY L. THOMAS

Top: *After making camp near the Abbey of Basingwark, Edward ordered the construction of Flint Castle, one of numerous fortresses intended to establish a permanent, controlling English presence in northern Wales.* **Above:** *Rhuddlan Castle was built to command the estuary of the Clwyd River, which Edward and his army reached on August 20, 1277.*

with an offer to negotiate. Edward refused, believing, no doubt, that Llywelyn still needed to be taught a lesson and that, having gone to the trouble of assembling such a huge force, it should be put to some use.

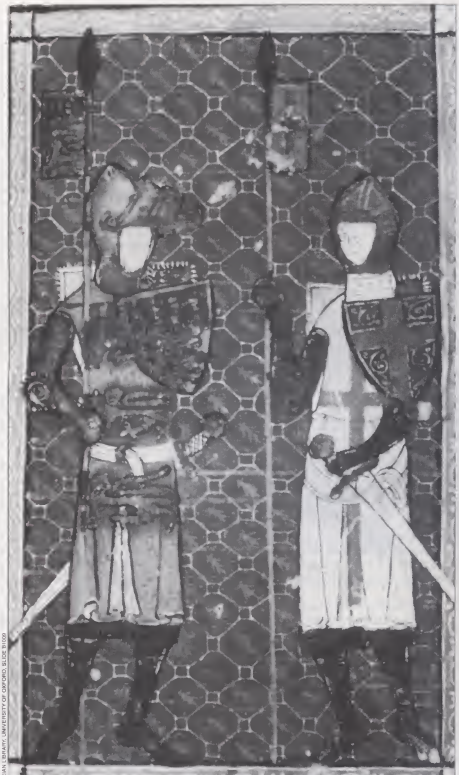
Edward's army consisted of 800 horse and large numbers of foot soldiers, including English archers, crossbowmen from Gascony and native Welsh auxiliaries. At the army's peak in August, records indicate there were 15,600 foot, of which 9,000 were Welsh. To help supply this host, Edward summoned 26 ships from the Cinque Ports (a confederation of coastal towns in southeast England).

As the main body moved northward, it was preceded by 1,800 axmen who cleared a wide path through the woods, depriving Llywelyn's troops of cover from which to harass Edward's army. Upon making camp at a site near the Abbey of Basingwark, laborers began the construction of Flint Castle. By August 20, Edward had advanced to the estuary of the Clwyd River, where he started building Rhuddlan Castle. Nine days later, having reached the Conway River estuary, Edward halted. Rather than make a direct assault on the mountains of Snowdonia, he sent John de Vescey with a force of 2,000 foot to go around Llywelyn's flank by ship and attack Anglesey. For two months Vescey ravaged the island, employing 360 harvesters to gather up crops, which he sent back to Edward to feed his army along the Conway.

Llywelyn was now surrounded by three armies—Edward's across the Conway, Vescey's force on Anglesey and Edmund's to the south. In addition, with the loss of the crops on Anglesey and the approach of winter, his people were faced with starvation. Left with no other option, Llywelyn surrendered on November 1.

Through the Treaty of Aberconway, Edward reduced Llywelyn's status in native Wales to that of a prince of Gwynedd. In turn, Edward rewarded his Welsh allies; Llywelyn's brother Daffydd received most of the lands between the Clwyd and Conway rivers. But within Edward's settlement were planted the seeds of rebellion. Those same Welsh princes who had deserted Llywelyn out of resentment for his overbearing style soon found life under Edward's rule to be even more intolerable. English officials flaunted an air of superiority after their victory and often disregarded Welsh law, which Edward had sworn to uphold. The degree of dissatisfaction that this behavior engendered is vividly illustrated by the fact that it was their former ally, Daffydd ap Gruffydd, who led the rebellion.

On the night of Palm Sunday, March 21, 1282, Daffydd took the fortress of Hawarden by surprise. The rebels also managed to seize Ruthin and the former Welsh strongholds of Dinas Bran and Dolforwyn. Another English ally, the prince of northern Powys, went over to Daffydd's side and raided the territory around Oswestry Castle.



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The Duke of Lancaster (left)—believed to be King Edward's brother, Edmund "Crouchback"—stands beside St. George of England in the 14th-century Book of Hours.

Llywelyn, who may have been waiting to see if the rebellion would succeed, now joined in, taking command in the north. That allowed Daffydd to travel south, where the rebels had already seized two of the former Welsh castles of the Tywi Valley, along with Aberystwyth, which they destroyed.

Word of the revolt reached Edward on March 25, and he resolved, in the words of a contemporary chronicler, "[to] put an end finally to the matter that he had now commenced of putting down the malice of the Welsh." Edward had to act quickly in order to prevent the further spread of rebellion. While waiting for the main army to muster at Worcester, he again appointed three Marcher lords to command the forces at Chester, Montgomery and Carmarthen.

Things did not go as smoothly as before, however. Attempts to relieve besieged castles in the north were repulsed, and in the south the English efforts met with outright disaster. Gilbert de Clare, leading a detachment of 50 horse and 1,600 foot soldiers, raided the area around Carregcennen Castle, which the rebels had destroyed. On June 17, Clare's column, slowed down by its loot and unprotected by scouts, was ambushed at Llandeilo. Clare escaped, but in his panic he abandoned Carmarthen Castle and the surrounding area. Edward reacted by sacking Clare, but the damage had already been done. Llywelyn arrived in the south to further bolster rebel morale in the wake of their victory. From there, Llywelyn moved north to contest the advance into Maelienydd of the central force under Roger Mortimer, who had already retaken Dolforwyn Castle. In Llywelyn's absence, however, Robert Tibetot regained the Tywi Valley and retraced Edmund's route through Ceredigion. Once again, the activities in the south coincided with Edward's march on Gwynedd.

Leading a column of 600 horse and 4,000 foot out of Chester, Edward reached Rhuddlan Castle by July 17. In late August, he dispatched a force of 200 horse and 2,000 foot, under Luke de Tany, to Anglesey. His objective was not merely to force Llywelyn into submission, as it had been in 1277, but to conquer native Wales. Thus, a pontoon bridge was constructed across the Menai Strait so that the force on Anglesey could attack Snowdonia. Edward's plans for a simultaneous advance into Snowdonia by Tany's force and his own, however, were postponed when the Archbishop of Canterbury opened negotiations.

On the island of Anglesey, Humphrey de Bohun replaced Tany as the commander. Whether out of resentment from his demotion, fear that the war would end before he was rewarded with Welsh territory, or just a hunger for glory, Tany disregarded his orders and led a force across the pontoon bridge. Far from taking the Welsh by surprise, his column was ambushed. Numerous foot soldiers and at least 16 knights, including Tany himself, drowned when the bridge collapsed under the retreating troops. The postponement of Edward's advance into Snowdonia was now extended indefinitely.

If the war of 1276-77 had taught Llywelyn one thing, it was the futility of pursuing a purely passive strategy when faced with the dogged persistence and overwhelming resources of King Edward. But, unable to forestall Edward's advance into Snowdonia by direct means, either on sea or on land, Llywelyn's only remaining option was to stop him indirectly. The victory at Menai Strait provided the perfect opportunity to mount an indirect counterattack, which, he hoped, would wrest the initiative from Edward. Llywelyn planned to strike in the central area, around the castle of Builth. A

valuable link between English forces in the north and those in the south, the center had recently suffered a blow when its commander, Roger Mortimer, died on October 26, 1282. Mortimer's sons may have even duped Llywelyn into coming south with promises of aid.

In early December, Llywelyn led his army into Maelienydd, making camp at Llanganten, between the confluence of the Irfon and Wye rivers. From there, he sent a detachment farther south to attack Brecon Castle. It was no coincidence that the owner of Brecon, Humphrey de Bohun, was also the commander of the troops on Anglesey. In fact, that raid succeeded in forcing Edward to replace Bohun so that he could return to Maelienydd to defend his lands.

John Gifford, new commander of the central force, rode south from Montgomery to Llanganten, but he was prevented from crossing the Irfon by a group of Welsh stationed at the bridge. A local resident showed Gifford a ford downstream, over which he sent a detachment of infantry. Early on December 11, Gifford's detachment surprised the Welsh at the bridge, allowing his knights to charge across. The main Welsh army, consisting of 160 armored cavalrymen and 7,000 spearmen, was encamped on the top of a hill overlooking the bridge. At this crucial moment, Llywelyn was missing, having left earlier on an unspecified errand. The Welsh, instead of scattering Gifford's forces with a downhill charge, stood on the defensive. Gifford led 200 knights and 2,000 infantrymen in an uphill charge that routed the Welsh.

Unknown to either side, Llywelyn had been killed before the battle in a minor skirmish with the Marcher lord Roger Lestrange at Orewin bridge. Only afterward was his body identified among the 3,000 Welsh killed that day. His head was sent to Edward at Rhuddlan, who dispatched it to London, where it was displayed above one of the gates leading to the Tower.

Daffydd and his advisers decided to continue fighting in the hope that, with the arrival of winter, Edward might abandon the struggle. Even before learning of Llywelyn's death, however, Edward had resolved to pursue his campaign through the winter. His armies converged on Snowdonia, reducing the Welsh castles one by one. Now a fugitive, Daffydd was finally captured on June 21, 1283, by Welshmen in Edward's service. In a public ceremony at Shrewsbury, Daffydd was hanged, drawn and quartered. His head was sent to join his brother's at the Tower of London.

Edward poured an enormous amount of money and effort into both the construction of new castles and the rebuilding of those damaged during the rebellion, all in the hope that this would ensure the pacification of Wales. Once again, however, it was Edward's plans for how Wales should be governed that precipitated a rebellion. With the introduction of the English shire system into Wales, some features of Welsh and Marcher law remained untouched, while others were done away with. The result was that, as one of Edward's justiciars noted, "The land was much troubled and irritated." The rebellion of another former ally, Rhys ap Maredudd, in 1287 and 1288 reflected that resentment, even if it failed to generate any popular support. Welsh discontent was brought to a head in 1294, when the final payment of an unpopular tax coincided with the raising of Welsh troops for Edward's campaign in Gascony.

On September 30, 1294, as the Welsh soldiers were due to muster at Shrewsbury, they suddenly mutinied, killing their English officers and attacking English strongholds. The uprising was widespread, even reaching into previously untouched areas such as the Marcher lordship of Glamorgan. Initially led by a variety of local rulers, the Welsh eventually rallied around a distant cousin of Prince Llywelyn, Madog ap Llywelyn. Soon, virtually every important castle in Wales was under siege.

Lulled into a false sense of security because of his new castles, Edward was taken completely by surprise. Fortunately for him, it would be an easy matter to redirect the forces he had already summoned to Portsmouth for his war in Gascony. In early October, Edward ordered the main army to muster at Worcester. However, as an indication of how bad the situation had become, he directed immediate reinforcements to Brecon Castle and the southern port of Cardiff, rather than the usual points of Montgomery and Carmarthen.

Once again Edward embarked on what was, for the Middle Ages, the unusual expedient of a winter campaign. Because the immediate area west of Chester still needed to be cleared, he divided his main army into two detachments. Leading a column of 50 horse and 5,000 foot soldiers, Edward rode south to Wrexham on December 5 and then turned westward toward the upper Clwyd. According to the Hagnaby chronicle, some 10,000 rebels surrendered to Edward. He pardoned them on the condition that they serve with him in France. The rebels, in turn, pledged to hand their leader over to Edward. Madog, however, convinced his followers that it was better to die defending their homes than to do so in a foreign land. The Welsh resistance continued.

On Christmas Eve, Edward was reunited at his new castle on the Conway estuary with Reginald de Grey's force of 74 horse and 11,000 foot, which had traveled along the coast. The king then decided to conduct another raid. On January 6, 1295, Edward traveled down the northwestern coast of Snowdonia into the Lleyn Peninsula, reaching the town of Nefyn on the 12th. On the return trip, Edward's raiding party, slowed down by their booty, was ambushed near Bangor. Although the column returned to Conway Castle on the 20th, the baggage train had been lost. To make matters worse, the rough winter seas prevented

CORBIS-BETTMANN

Conway Castle served as a vital base of operations for Edward during his campaigns against both Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and Madog ap Llywelyn, though rough winter seas hampered supply efforts in 1295.

supplies from reaching Conway. If, according to the Dominican Friar Nicholas Trivet, the king was reduced to dining on salted fish and water flavored with honey, the plight of the common soldier must have been desperate indeed. Instead of cowing the rebels and increasing his food stocks, Edward's raid resulted in the raising of Welsh morale and the loss of precious supplies.

As in the previous war, with Edward's advance on Snowdonia stalled, the head of the rebellion judged the time right to launch an indirect counterattack. Madog decided to lead his army eastward to threaten Shrewsbury. According to the Hagnaby chronicle, "[Madog] came into Powys with the elite of his Welshmen." The Welsh army camped at Maes Moydog, northeast of Montgomery. English agents, however, informed the commander of the central force of Madog's location. Gathering together 120 knights and 2,500 infantrymen, William de Beauchamp raced back from Oswestry to his base at Montgomery. From there, he approached the Welsh camp under cover of darkness.

On the morning of March 5, the Welsh prepared to do battle. According to Trivet, "They planted the butts of their spears on the ground, and turned the points against the charging cavalry so as to defend themselves from their rush." Initially the results were promising, as the first charge was repulsed with the loss of 10 horses. In the words of the Hagnaby chronicle, "The Welshmen held their ground well, and they were the best and bravest Welsh that anyone had seen." Beauchamp then placed his archers between his knights, so that their fire could produce gaps in the Welsh line of spearmen that his knights could exploit. Presumably that tactic succeeded, as the Welsh formation was broken by the second assault and their army was routed. At the cost of only 90 infantrymen, according to the Hagnaby chronicle, the English managed to kill 700 Welsh "of the nobler sort." Although Madog escaped, the defeat at Maes Moydog tore the heart out of the rebellion.

In turn, the destruction of Madog's army may have lifted the spirits of Edward's troops at Conway, for even though relief had come six weeks before the victory at Maes Moydog, Edward failed to act until five days after the battle. On March 10, a picked party of archers, led by a few knights, made a sortie against the rebel camp. The Welsh, who were literally caught napping, lost 500 men. Even some of the English baggage lost back in January was retrieved. On April 15, an English force was sent to occupy Anglesey, where they began to erect Beaumaris Castle.

The successful raid on the Welsh camp and the attack on Anglesey—following, as they did, on the heels of the defeat at Maes Moydog—drove home to most of the Welsh the futility of further resistance. Edward now embarked on what amounted to a victorious circuit around Wales, during which he received the submission of various bands of rebels. Like Daffydd before him, Madog had become a fugitive. He finally surrendered in late July, after trying to lead a raid into Shropshire. Oddly enough, rather than having him executed, Edward imprisoned him in the Tower.

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY, LONDON, UK/BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY, LONDON/NEW YORK

Edward I watches from the window as Llywelyn ap Gruffydd is beheaded, in the 15th-century St. Alban's Chronicle. *In fact, Llywelyn was killed in a minor skirmish.*

Despite their eventual defeat, the Welsh leaders had demonstrated a clear grasp of strategy. When the traditional approach of delay and evasion failed in 1277, Prince Llywelyn sought a viable alternative during the war of 1282-83. Since he could not openly challenge Edward's advance on Gwynedd by land or sea, he resolved to divert it by distracting Edward with an attack on the English central area. Consciously or otherwise, Madog ap Llywelyn followed the same strategy of an indirect attack during the war of 1294-95. Both attempts ended in disaster for the Welsh, but while the defeats of Irfon Bridge and Maes Moydog represented a failure of Welsh forces to stand up to English armies in open battle, they did not necessarily represent a failure of Welsh strategy. In both instances Edward was compelled to postpone his advance on Snowdonia until the threat to his central area had been eliminated. Ultimately, the defeat of the Welsh stemmed from the weaknesses of a small society in transition, rather than any failure on the part of that society's leaders to understand military strategy.

Ironically, while an independent principality of Wales failed to survive, the title of Prince of Wales has endured. This was coopted by Edward, who bestowed it upon his son, the future Edward II, in February 1301. To this day, the title Prince of Wales has traditionally been given to the intended successor to the English throne. □

Paul V. Walsh has a master's degree in military history from Temple University in Philadelphia. Among the sources for his article, he suggests for further reading: R.R. Davies' excellent study of medieval Wales, The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415; *and* Edward I, *by Michael Prestwich.*

In a painting from the biographical Akbar Nama, *Mogul Emperor Akbar the Great, sniping with his matchlock gun from atop a sabat (covered passageway) at upper right, mortally wounds Rajput Prince Jaimal, prone at upper left, during the siege of Chitor Garh (courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum).*

CHITOR GARH

STORMING THE LAST HINDU FORTRESS

In 1567, while the other Rajput kingdoms of northern India submitted to the Mogul Emperor Akbar, the Sesodias of Mewar made a defiant stand in the formidable fortress of Chitor.

By Jeffrey Say Seck Leong

The walls had been breached. The Mogul forces were closing in on the gallant Rajput defenders inside Chitor Garh, the fort of Chitor. Suddenly, flames were seen rising up in the air from three places inside the fort. The courtiers of Akbar the Great, the Mogul emperor, gave various explanations for the fires. Then Raja Bhagwant Das, a Rajput leader who had allied himself with the Moguls, said that the fires could only mean one thing. The *johar*—the Rajput custom of burning their women to death in the face of impending defeat—had been performed. Now the Rajput warriors sallied forth to meet the invaders in a desperate last stand with their traditional cry of "death for all before dishonor."

It was Tuesday, February 23, 1568. For more than four months, the Mogul army had undertaken a costly and grueling siege of the fort, directed personally by their commander in chief and emperor, Akbar. Now the campaign had reached its apocalyptic climax.

Abu-al-Fath Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar was born on October 15, 1542. His grandfather and the first of the Mogul emperors, Babur, was a Chaghatai Turk who came from an area in what is now Uzbekistan in Central Asia—and was a descendent of the Mongol conquerors Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. Akbar became emperor at the age of 14 upon the death of his father, Humayun, in 1556. In his nearly 50 years on the throne (1556–1605), Akbar proved to be a tolerant statesman, a shrewd administrator and an avid patron of the arts. He was also a strong-willed individual and a brilliant military commander whose courage and determination enabled him to become master of a vast empire that covered almost two-thirds of the Indian subcontinent. One of the greatest testaments to Akbar's military and political skills was his subjugation of the martial Rajput kingdoms.

The domain of Rajputana or "Land of the Rajputs" (in what is now the desert state of Rajasthan) occupied the northwestern portion of India and had presented special difficulties for preceding Muslim rulers, as well as the Moguls. The hostile Rajput kingdoms lay across the routes that ran south from the principal Muslim centers of Delhi and Agra and were uncomfortably close to Delhi and Agra themselves. Mogul rulers also feared that the independent Rajput kingdoms could provide a safe haven for rebels plotting against them. Furthermore, Rajputana bordered on Gujarat, an important center of commerce with western Asia and Europe. To Akbar and the Moguls, therefore, there were potentially huge political and economic advantages to be gained by securing Rajputana.

The Rajputs ("sons of kings") had begun to settle in northern and northwestern India after the breakup of the mighty Gupta empire in the late 5th century. They were probably descendants of Central Asian invaders who had contributed to the fall of the Gupta dynasty. Others believe that the Rajputs were the descendants of the *kshatriyas* (warrior caste, the second tier of the Hindu caste system), who had lived during the Vedic period be-

Built on an isolated plateau rising 558 feet above the plain of Mewar, the walls of Chitor remain the finest and most complete surviving example of a Hindu fort (Superstock).

BRADBURY/AGINCOURT, NEW YORK

Above: A miniature portrait of Abu-al-Fath Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar, whose generally enlightened reign was blemished by his slaughter of the Rajputs at Chitor.
Opposite: With the fall of Chitor imminent, the Rajput warriors burned their women on February 23, 1568, prior to launching a last sally with cries of "death to all before dishonor."

tween 1500 and 500 BC, when an Indo-European people from Iran, called the Aryans, settled in India.

The Rajputs were governed by a chivalric warrior's code not unlike that of the knights of medieval Europe. It emphasized compassion for defeated foes, generosity toward the helpless, fair play in battle, respect for women, and conduct of warfare by elegant forms and ceremonies. The Rajputs were renowned for their courage on the battlefield.

Their proud martial tradition and passion for war enabled the Rajputs to become the dominant power in northern India by the 9th century, but internecine conflicts led to the emergence of numerous petty kingdoms within their own domain. From time to time, the Rajputs would form confederacies to repel the Turko-Afghan armies that invaded India from the 8th century onward. Such unity tended to be only temporary, however, and their internal discord would ultimately prove to be their undoing.

The victory of Turkish forces from Afghanistan under Muhammad of Ghur over the Rajputs in the second battle of Tarain in 1192 firmly established a Muslim presence in northern India. Nevertheless, the Rajputs maintained their independence in Rajputana and remained a power to be reckoned with in northern India until the arrival of the Moguls in the 16th century.

Akbar fully realized that the Rajputs were tenacious opponents, so he adopted a shrewd policy that combined both military action and diplomacy. For instance, he married Hindu princesses and arranged similar marriages for his heirs. After he defeated a Rajput chieftain, Akbar would make him an ally rather than depose him. As long as they acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty, paid tribute and supplied troops when required, the Rajput rulers were allowed to retain their territories. That policy of conciliation and compromise won a number of Rajput kingdoms over to Akbar's side and further weakened whatever remained of Rajput unity. Even as they watched their brothers surrender their independence, however, the Sesodia Rajputs of Mewar refused to bow to Mogul authority.

The Sesodian clan was considered the most powerful and recalcitrant of the Rajputs, carrying the banner of Rajput independence and zealously opposing the Muslim invaders. The *Rana* of Mewar (*rana* was a royal title, and *rani* was the female equivalent) was recognized as the foremost among the 36 royal tribes of the Rajputs. The formidable fortresses of Chitor and Ranthambhor, both in Mewar, were regarded as bastions of Rajput sovereignty and strength.

Mewar, however, had the misfortune of being ruled in 1567 by a weak and incompetent ruler, *Rana* Udai Singh II. Udai Singh's defiance was one of the main reasons that Akbar marched against the Sesodias. Akbar also realized that without establishing his suzerainty over the dominion of the Sesodias, he could not hope to be the master of northern India. He was determined to capture the fort of Chitor in particular, thereby setting an example so that no other fortress would dare to resist his army in future.

On October 20, 1567, Akbar arrived at the outskirts of Chitor Garh and pitched camp. A ferocious thunderstorm greeted the Mogul army, as if to serve as an ominous warning against their undertaking. When the storm calmed and the sky cleared, the fortress of Chitor became visible in the distance.

Chitor was the capital of Mewar and had served as the stronghold of the Sesodias since 728. Chitor was formerly called Chitrakut after Chitrang, a Rajput chieftain. Located in present central Rajasthan in northern India, 111 kilometers from Udaipur, Chitor Garh (*garh* means fort) is the finest medieval Hindu

fortification to survive in any state of completeness.

Chitor was situated on a steep, isolated mass of rock that rose some 558 feet from the plain, and was 3¼ miles long and 1,200 yards wide in the center. On the summit of the rock stood Chitor Garh. The principal approach to the fortress was from the southeast angle of the present-day location of the lower town (the town was built at the foot of the escarpment after the Sesodias abandoned the fort in 1568) by a steep road that ran for nearly a mile, then made two zigzag bends that were defended by seven massive gates. The summit of the rock, which sloped inward on all sides, collected rainwater that filled several tanks, ensuring an abundant water supply that added to the fort's capacity to withstand a protracted siege. Unlike most forts in Rajputana, which only enclosed the residence of the clan's ruler, Chitor Garh held a veritable city within its walls: magnificent palaces, temples, houses and markets. Some of the remains of Chitor Garh can still be seen today.

A 9th-century Hindu chronicle, the *Khoman Rasa*, described Chitor Garh as the "chief amongst eighty-four castles, renowned for strength…it is within the grasp of no foe." Formidable as it was, Chitor had, in fact, been sacked twice before by Muslim forces. It was first taken in 1303 by the Delhi Sultan Alauddin Khalji and was sacked again in 1535 by Bahadur Shah, the sultan of Gujarat. On both occasions, the *johar* or ritual death by immolation was performed when defeat seemed imminent, after which the Rajput warriors, having taken a vow of death, staged a desperate final charge. Ironically, it was Akbar's father, Humayun, who intervened and restored the Sesodias after the second sack. That enabled Udai Singh to become *rana* in 1541.

COURTESY OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

When he got wind of the Mogul army's approach, Udai Singh fled to the relative safety of the distant hills, after using scorched-earth tactics to devastate the countryside. When Akbar was informed of the *rana*'s flight, he considered pursuing him but decided against it because of the distance involved and the inhospitable terrain.

The *rana* left the fort in command of two teenage Rajput princes, Jaimal and Patta, ages 15 and 16 respectively. Chitor was defended by a garrison of 8,000 warriors, supported by 40,000 peasants. Several other Rajput clans and their chiefs were also at the fort during this time. The garrison was evidently prepared for a long siege, since it had a well-stocked supply of ammunition, grain and other provisions. And the fort had plenty of firepower, including archers, a corps of crack musketeers and a number of artillery pieces.

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An able administrator, statesman and patron of the arts, Akbar was also a brilliant commander who brought two-thirds of the Indian subcontinent under Mogul rule by the time of his death in 1605.

When Akbar arrived at the summit of Chitor hill on October 21, 1567, he pitched his camp, which extended 10 miles to the northeast of the hill. The site of the camp was marked by a 30-foot limestone pyramidal column, or tower, known as "Akbar's lamp," which served as a beacon to stragglers at night and denoted the imperial headquarters (such markers were a regular feature of Mogul camps of significant size).

The Mogul army included some 3,000 to 4,000 horsemen and 300 war elephants. The soldiers were armed with swords, lances, matchlocks, and bows and arrows. In addition, there were about 5,000 builders, carpenters, stonemasons, sappers and smiths to construct siege engines and to mine the fort's walls.

Accompanied by his courtiers and surveyors, Akbar made a reconnaissance of his target and ordered batteries to be set up at various strategic points around the fort. It took about a month for the whole circumference of the fort to be invested.

There were three principal batteries, one of which was Akbar's, located opposite the Lakhuta gate in the north. The second battery, under Shujaat Khan and other officers, and the third, under Asaf Khan and other officers, were emplaced at unspecified locations. Meanwhile, Akbar sent his officers to devastate the *rana*'s territory, hoping to find Udai Singh in the process, but they found no trace of the *rana*.

The opening phase of battle began when some overzealous Mogul troops launched a reckless direct assault upon the fort. Not surprisingly, the Moguls' arrows and bullets glanced off the surface of the walls and battlements, whereas those the garrison discharged exacted a heavy toll on them.

After that minor debacle, Akbar decided that strategic planning rather than reckless courage was what was needed if the fortress was to be taken. Accordingly, the emperor adopted a two-pronged strategy. One entailed mining the walls of the fort in front of the royal battery, whereupon a party of selected Mogul troops would rush into the fort as soon as the breach was made. While the sappers dug mines under the walls, stonemasons opened the way by removing obstacles with their iron tools.

The other strategy called for the construction of *sabats*, or covered passageways, an ingenious siege contrivance that was peculiar to India. A *sabat* was a sinuous sheltered passageway that was constructed out of gunshot range, with earthen walls on both sides and a roof of planks strongly fastened together and covered with rawhide. When a breach was made by mines, troops would rush in under the cover of the *sabat*. Akbar ordered the construction of two *sabats*: one to be commenced from the royal battery and the other to be built in front of Shujaat Khan's position.

At the same time, in the emperor's presence, an exceptionally large mortar was cast to demolish the walls of the fort. When the defenders became aware of this and saw that the Moguls were making daily progress toward the destruction of the fort, they sent out two representatives to Akbar to bargain for peace, offering to become subjects of his court and to send an annual tribute. Several Mogul officers advised him to accept the offer, but Akbar was adamant: Nothing short of the *rana* surrendering in person would persuade him to lift the siege. As they were unwilling—or perhaps unable—to deliver the *rana*, the Rajputs had no choice but to continue the defense of their fort with renewed fervor.

While the *sabat* in front of the royal battery was being constructed, artillerymen and marksmen inside the fort kept up such a fusillade that about 200 Mogul laborers were killed daily, even though they protected themselves with rawhide shields. The corpses were buried in the walls of the *sabat*. But the workers were kept going by lavish gifts of gold and silver coins from the emperor—the amount of which was calculated according to the number of containers of earth added to the *sabat*. The *sabat* opposite Akbar's position was soon completed near the fort. It was reported to be so extensive that 10 horsemen abreast could ride along it and so high that an elephant rider with his spear in his hand could pass under it.

At the same time, two mines close to each other were brought to the wall of the fort and filled with large quantities of gunpowder. A party of fully armed and accoutered Mogul soldiers, noted for their bravery, stationed themselves near the wall, ready to rush in when it was breached. On December 17, the gunpowder of both mines was set to explode at the same time. One part of the bastion was blown up, inflicting heavy casualties on the defenders. Unknown to the Moguls, however, only one mine had exploded. When the soldiers rushed toward the large breach and were about to enter, the second mine exploded (apparently, the match used to ignite the gunpowder of the mine that exploded first had been shorter than the other match, so the mines failed to discharge simultaneously).

Moguls and Rajputs alike, battling in the breach, were hurled into the air together, while others were crushed by falling debris. The blast was so powerful that limbs and stones were hurled a great distance from the fort. Mogul reinforcements and Rajput troops then engaged in a brief skirmish until the Rajputs succeeded in quickly repairing the demolished part of the wall. About 500 Mogul soldiers, including a significant number of noteworthy men, were killed, while a large number of Rajputs also perished. On the same day, another ill-timed mine exploded in front of Asaf Khan's battery and claimed 30 more lives.

Akbar viewed these botched undertakings as temporary setbacks that should serve to inspire even greater exertion and resolve on the part of the Moguls. To ensure that the assault on the fort would continue unabated, he ordered the construction of the *sabat* in front of Shujatt Khan's battery to be speeded up.

The emperor also frequently visited the *sabat* in his sector and fired at the garrison from loopholes in the *sabat*. One day, Akbar saw that some of his men were admiring the marksmanship of one of the musketeers of the fort when, at that very moment, a shot from that marksman hit Jalal Khan, one of Akbar's attendants. Akbar was reported to have said to his injured attendant, "Jalal Khan, that marksman does not show himself; if he would do so, I'd avenge you." Although he could not see the marksman, Akbar took aim at the barrel of the musket that projected from a loophole. He fired but could not determine whether his shot had found its mark. It was only later that Akbar learned that his shot had indeed killed the sharpshooter, who was identified as Ismail, head of the musketeers.

Akbar proved to be quite a marksman himself, killing many noted members of the garrison. But the emperor also came close to losing his own life on a few occasions. Once, a large cannonball that fell near Akbar killed 20 soldiers but left him unscathed. On another occasion, a soldier standing near Akbar was hit by a bullet, and the emperor was saved from the same round only by his coat of mail.

When the second *sabat* was completed, the Mogul forces prepared to launch a full-scale assault on the fort. The Mogul troops went about their operations with such vigor and intensity that for two nights and a day they had neither food nor sleep, inspired by the personal example of Akbar, who was supervising the operations and keeping up a fusillade upon the garrison from the *sabat*. Special quarters had been erected for Akbar on top of the *sabat*, and the emperor stayed there during this crucial period.

On the night of February 22, the Moguls attacked the fort from all sides and created several breaches in the walls. The Rajput warriors put up a stubborn resistance. At one point in the fighting, Prince Patta's mother commanded Patta to don the saffron robe, which would indicate his desire to die for his gods and his country. She also armed his young bride with a lance and accompanied her down the rock. The defenders of Chitor saw mother and daughter-in-law die heroically, fighting side by side.

The Moguls had destroyed a large part of the wall at the end of the *sabat* that faced the royal battery. The defenders collected such combustible materials as muslin, wood, cotton and oil to fill the breach, intending to set fire to the heap when the Mogul troops approached to prevent them from entering the fort.

Akbar was in a vantage point inside a specially made gallery on top of the *sabat* at the time, and he saw a man wearing a chieftain's cuirass directing the proceedings at the breach. The emperor took out a matchlock he had christened "Sangram" (Akbar was said to have killed a few thousand birds and animals with this gun during his hunting trips). He then fired at the Rajput chief, but no one could be certain whether the chieftain had been hit.

An hour had passed when Akbar received reports that the Rajputs had inexplicably abandoned their defenses. At about that time, fire broke out in several places in the fort. Akbar's Hindu adviser, Raja Bhagwan Das, told the Mogul emperor that the Rajputs must be performing their custom of *johar*.

SHUTTERSTOCK

The Jain temple of Sabdit Jeori in Chitor. Unlike Judaism and Christianity, native Indian religions were not regarded as "faiths of the book" by Muslims, but Akbar, like his Mongol ancestors, tolerated those Hindus or Jains who submitted to his rule.

It came to light later that Akbar's shot had indeed found its target—none other than Jaimal. The Rajputs, disheartened by the death of their leader, had gone back to their homes to gather their wives, children and property in preparation for the *johar*. As many as 300 women, including nine ranis and five princesses, and an unknown number of children perished in three houses that served as fiery furnaces.

Although the defenses appeared to have been abandoned, the Moguls decided to proceed cautiously. They took advantage of the lull in the fighting to regroup in preparation for an organized assault on the fort. When the Mogul forces were massed, the soldiers entered the fort through several breaches.

The Rajputs, meanwhile, had finished eating their last betel nuts together and donned their saffron robes. They then sallied forth to meet their enemies and their destiny. Akbar, who was watching the close hand-to-hand combat from atop the *sabat*, then ordered his war elephants to be taken into the fort to join the onslaught.

At dawn on February 23, the Mogul emperor, accompanied by several thousand men, entered the fortress mounted on a majestic elephant. By then the Rajputs had been routed. People were fighting everywhere, and bodies lay in every street, lane, passageway and bazaar. Some Rajputs died fighting in temples, while others fought to the death in their own homes.

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After completing the difficult task of taking Chitor Garh, Akbar fulfilled his promise to make a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to the shrine of Khwaja Muiddin Chisti at Ajmer. He later erected statues in his new capital of Fatehpur Sikri, honoring his two brave young adversaries at Chitor: Jaimal and Patta.

Many Rajput warriors had made their last stand in the *rana*'s house, from which they emerged in twos and threes to die fighting.

Initially, only about 50 elephants entered the fort, but by the battle's end, there were as many as 300. The elephants did much damage, and a few were singled out for special praise. One such elephant, named Jangia, had its trunk cut off by a Rajput's sword. Despite the severe injury, Jangia, who had killed 30 men before he was wounded, crushed another 15 before dying of his wounds.

On another occasion, an elephant trampled a Rajput, rolled him up in its trunk and brought him before Akbar. The *mahout* (elephant driver) said he did not know the man's name, but he appeared to be a leader, as a large number of warriors had fought around him. That leader turned out to be the 16-year-old Patta.

The emperor also witnessed an act of Mogul chivalry in the battle. A Rajput warrior had challenged a Mogul soldier to combat when another Mogul decided to come to his aid. But the Mogul soldier waved his compatriot away, saying that it was against the rules of chivalry to render assistance when an opponent had challenged him. The Mogul then single-handedly disposed of the Rajput.

Nearly 30,000 Rajputs were killed, the majority mercilessly slaughtered when Akbar ordered a general massacre of the population. This uncharacteristic barbarity was to remain the only major blemish on the emperor's otherwise enlightened reign. The peasantry had evidently incurred Akbar's wrath when they participated as auxiliaries in the fighting. Akbar also may have been exasperated by the fierce resistance put up by the tenacious Rajput defenders. Many, mostly peasants, were made prisoners; few Rajput warriors survived to, in the words of their creed, "stain the yellow mantle by inglorious surrender." The Mogul troops also engaged in systematic pillaging of the palaces, temples and residences.

Akbar had particularly wanted to punish the musketeers who had exacted such a heavy toll on his troops when the *sabats* were being built. Apparently, they had managed to escape by a clever stratagem. In the confusion of battle, they tied up their wives and masqueraded as Mogul soldiers escorting prisoners of war. Mogul losses may have been small, but it is hard to believe the claims of Mogul sources of the time that only one soldier, Zarb Ali Tuwaci, had died in the fighting that followed the final storming of the fort.

After he fled from Chitor, Udai Singh II and his small band of followers took refuge among aboriginal hill tribes and later founded the city of Udaipur, which was named after him. He died four years after the fall of Chitor at the age of 42. In 1616, Akbar's son and successor, Jahangir, handed Chitor back to the Sesodias, but they had already comfortably settled at Udaipur. Jahangir would not—or dared not—allow them to rebuild the defenses of the fortress, and Chitor was abandoned.

Akbar had known that Chitor would be difficult to take. If his efforts were successful, he had planned to make a thanksgiving pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwaja Muiddin Chisti in Ajmer, about 120 miles from Chitor. Akbar set out on his trek on February 28, 1568. In 1571, when he built his new capital city of Fatehpur Sikri, 24 miles west of the old capital of Agra, Akbar erected statues of Jaimal and Patta in front of one of his gates—as much a testament to the merits of his gallant foes as to his great conquest. □

Singapore resident Jeffrey Say Seck Leong writes often about Indian history and lectures on art history at Lasalle-Sia College of the Arts. For further reading, he recommends: Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir, *translated by D. Price;* The Forts of India, *by V. Fass; and* Akbar, The Great Mogul, *by V. Smith.*

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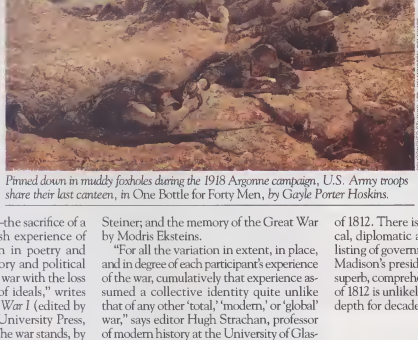
Global in scope and multifaceted in nature, World War I remains defined in memory by the trenches.

By Michael D. Hull

World War I shaped the history of the 20th century, and it left political consequences that are still being played out. The "war to end all wars" precipitated the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires, promoted the Russian revolution, weakened the British Empire, and propelled the United States onto the world stage. Its peace settlement only laid the groundwork for another, even farther-reaching global conflict.



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Pinned down in muddy foxholes during the 1918 Argonne campaign, U.S. Army troops share their last canteen, in One Bottle for Forty Men, *by Gayle Porter Hoskins.*

For the nations that bore the brunt of World War I, its terrible legacy—the sacrifice of a generation and the hellish experience of trench warfare—lives on in poetry and prose, in collective memory and political culture. "We associate the war with the loss of youth, of innocence, of ideals," writes Modris Eksteins in *World War I* (edited by Hugh Strachan, Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, $40). "The war stands, by most historical accounts, as the portal of entry to our century of doubt and agony, to our dissatisfaction." The book offers a fresh look at the conflict and its legacy by 21 historians from around the world.

Literate, informed and balanced, this anthology includes examinations of the war's complex origins by Samuel R. Williamson, Jr.; the strategy of the Central Powers by L.L. Farrar, Jr.; maneuver warfare on the Western and Eastern fronts by D.E. Showalter; the Allied strategy by David French; the Balkans campaign by R.J. Crampton; Turkey's war by Ulrich Trumpener; the war in Africa by David Killingray; the war at sea by Paul G. Halpern; the American contribution by David Trask; economic warfare by B.J.C. McKercher; women in the war by Gail Braybon; mutinies and military morale by David Englander; the war aims and peace negotiations by David Stevenson; propaganda by J.M. Winter; socialism and revolution by John Horne; the air war by John H. Morrow, Jr.; the Paris peace conference by Zara Steiner; and the memory of the Great War by Modris Eksteins.

"For all the variation in extent, in place, and in degree of each participant's experience of the war, cumulatively that experience assumed a collective identity quite unlike that of any other 'total,' 'modern,' or 'global' war," says editor Hugh Strachan, professor of modern history at the University of Glasgow. "Its conditioning factor was, of course, the trenches. And it was they which gave an inner unity to the war, and above all to the memory of the war, in what was in reality…an extraordinarily diverse and multi-faceted conflict." Strachan has done a masterful job of marshaling such gifted historians for this rewarding study.

Encyclopedia of the War of 1812, *edited by David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, Calif., 1998, $95.*

Sandwiched between the American Revolution and Civil War, the War of 1812 has been overlooked for decades. Now, however, *Encyclopedia of the War of 1812* provides both the scholar and the general reader with details of battles, personalities and related events from the beginning to the end of this fascinating struggle.

Edited by the husband-and-wife team of David S. Heidler, a faculty member at the University of Southern Colorado in Pueblo, and Jeanne T. Heidler, associate professor and director of American history at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, the book contains over 500 entries from more than 70 contributors. The encyclopedia covers the military, social, political and economic aspects of the war on both sides of the Atlantic, placing it in the context of the Napoleonic Wars. It also contains the text of such important documents as the Embargo Act, the Rambouillet Decree, Macon's Bill No. 2 and President James Madison's War Message of 1812. There is a chronology of all political, diplomatic and military maneuvers; a listing of government officers during James Madison's presidency; and a glossary. This superb, comprehensive overview of the War of 1812 is unlikely to be equaled in scope or depth for decades to come.

Blaine Taylor

PC Patrol Craft of World War II: A History of the Ships and Their Crews, *by William J. Viegele, Astral Publishing, Santa Barbara, Calif., 1998, $39.95.*

In June 1943, an Italian submarine sank *PC-496*, a U.S. Navy patrol craft, as she was escorting landing craft to Bizerte, Tunisia. The submarine's skipper was subsequently court-martialed for having wasted a torpedo.

Dismissed even during World War II, the PCs—known as the "Donald Duck Navy"—are all but forgotten today. Written as a labor of love by former PC officer William J. Viegele, *PC Patrol Craft of World War II* may redress that situation.

Ranging in displacement from 270 to 450 tons, PCs were small, steel-hulled vessels serving mainly in the anti-submarine warfare (ASW) role, although some were reconfigured as minesweepers, gunboats or control craft. A PC could be built in three to six months, and dozens could be built in the time it took to construct one destroyer or destroyer escort—a critical asset at a time when the German U-boat blitz along the

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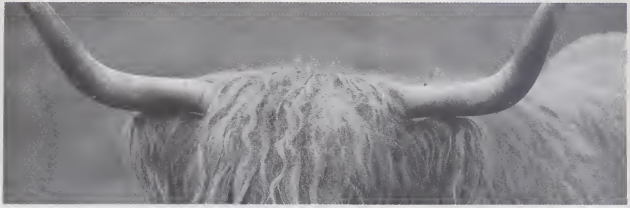

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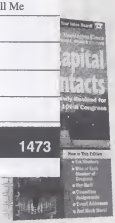

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By Michael D. Hull

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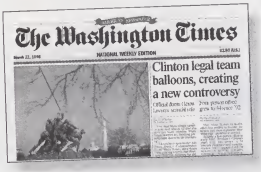

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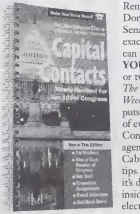

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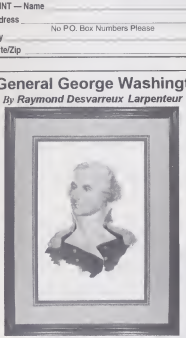

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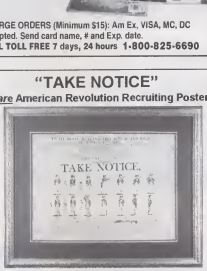

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Atlantic coast required the U.S. Navy to field ASW ships as soon as possible. A total of 361 PCs were built in 16 yards from coast to coast between 1939 and 1945.

PCs offered a lot of firepower, mounting a 3-inch gun, 40mm and 20mm guns, K-guns (for depth charges) and mousetraps (bomb launchers). Their record of success was modest—the destruction of some 15 submarines and torpedo-type craft and 24 enemy aircraft—but the defense they offered convoys and the close-in-shore support they provided for amphibious landings made these shallow-draft but seaworthy and maneuverable ships vitally useful.

Profusely illustrated, this definitive history recounts the origins, design and construction of the PCs, the ships' exploits in both wartime theaters of operations, as well as the postwar life—and death—of the PCs, of which only three unsalvageable hulks remain today. Viegele also describes training and life aboard ship for their 65-man crews, including the two PCs that were manned almost entirely by black sailors—one of whom, Ensign Samuel L. Gravely, Jr., went on to become the U.S. Navy's first black admiral.

Roderick S. Speer

The Software Bookshelf

The Operational Art of War—Volume 1: 1939–1955, a Windows CD-ROM (Pentium, 16MB RAM) available from TalonSoft Software for $54.95 and created by noted designer Norm Koger, is one of the most powerful military simulations yet produced. Essentially two separate systems, it is both a game and a scenario designer. Players have a high level of control over units, from company to corps level, with a wide array of command choices.

A unique element of the game is its fluid turn system. Instead of fixed phases for movement and combat, players can resolve attacks at any point in their turn, reacting in a more realistic way to situations as they develop. The game has good graphics, although the main map can be difficult to navigate. Units are represented by "counters" using standard military symbols, which beginners may find confusing. Scenarios included are World War II, Korea, Middle East and hypothetical East-West conflicts.

The scenario editor is extensive, enabling the user to re-create almost any historical or "what if" engagement of the period. The manual and online help system is thorough, but scenario creation requires research and preparation. *The Operational Art of War* may not be for novices, but for the serious wargamer and military history buff, this game is definitely a must-have.

Michael Breen

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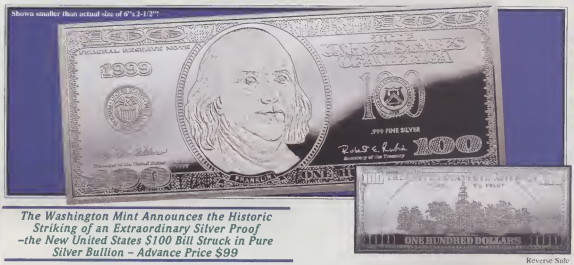

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By P.G. Smith

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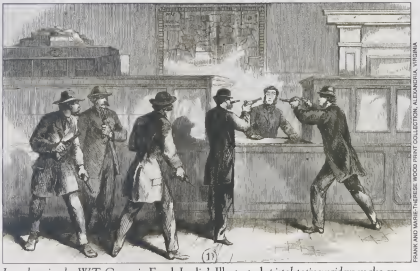
Only a careful observer would have noticed the men gathering on Main Street in midafternoon. Although there were about 24 of them altogether, they had arrived in pairs or small groups at different times earlier in the week. Congenial and inquisitive, they claimed to be Canadian sportsmen who had come to St. Albans to hunt and fish in the nearby hills.

Just before 3 p.m., some of the strangers quietly walked inside each of the town's three banks. Bill Hutchinson and four others entered the Franklin County Bank and struck up a friendly conversation with the teller, a woodcutter and a few merchants. After the merchants left, Hutchinson and his men drew Colt Navy revolvers from under their coats and announced that they were taking possession of the bank in the name of the Confederate States of America. They quickly cleaned out $50,000 from the cash drawers and then securely deposited the teller and the unlucky woodcutter in the bank's vault.



FRANK AND MARIE-THERESE WOOD PRINT COLLECTION, ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

In a drawing by W.T. Crane in Frank Leslie's Illustrated, *pistol-toting raiders make an unauthorized withdrawal from the St. Albans Bank on October 19, 1864.*

When Tom Collins and his band of Confederates burst into the St. Albans Bank with pistols drawn, the two clerks tried to run for it, but they were quickly stopped and locked up in an office. Vermonter Sam Breck then entered the bank, where his $373 deposit was gratefully received by Collins and his associates. Breck was escorted to the office that held the two clerks. A similar fate befell a local shop boy who arrived at the bank to make his employer's daily deposit. The total take from the St. Albans Bank was $60,000, but it was later discovered that the hurried raiders had left more than twice that amount behind.

Down the street at the First National Bank, Caleb Wallace's party easily convinced a lone cashier to turn over the bank's funds. Legend has it that General John Nasson, elderly hero of the War of 1812 and the only other person in the bank during the heist, never looked up from his newspaper during the proceedings.

The operation at the First National was going smoothly until Bill Blaisdell, allegedly the strongest man in St. Albans, saw raider Alamada Bruce standing near the door with a pistol. He then seized Bruce, hurled him down the stairs and pounced on him. Moments later two other Confederates aimed their guns at Blaisdell's face and advised him to cease pummeling their unfortunate comrade.

After taking $98,000 from the First National Bank, the Wallace group marched Blaisdell over to the town green, where the Confederates were rounding up any townspeople who happened to venture out on Main Street. It was reported that General Nasson, still comfortably seated by the stove in the bank, looked up from his newspaper at this point and asked, "What gentlemen were those?"

Up to that point, the operation had functioned flawlessly. The Confederacy would be $208,000 richer, and no one had been hurt.

The mastermind behind the St. Albans raid was a 21-year-old Kentuckian named Bennett Young. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Young had enlisted in the Confederate 2nd Maryland Infantry. Later he transferred to the cavalry and served under Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart. Taken prisoner at Gettysburg, Young was then imprisoned at Camp Douglas in Illinois, but he soon slipped out with five other Confederates and made his way to Richmond.

In exchange for an officer's commission, Young told Confederate authorities that he would lead a covert force of 20 raiders to engineer an operation that would free 10,000 prisoners from Camp Douglas and raise havoc in the North. With the Union embarked on a scorched-earth policy in the South, there was strong support in Richmond for any action that would bring the war home to the North.

Armed with his new commission and suitable funds, Young set out for Illinois, but found Camp Douglas' defenses much improved. Deciding that his force lacked the resources for the prison break, Young called off the operation and headed for St. Catharines, in neutral Canada. He then met with the Confederate commissioner in Canada, Clement C. Clay, and proposed a

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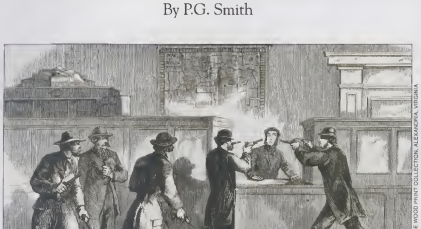

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bold plan to raise funds for the Confederacy, divert Union troops to the Canadian border and strike terror into the hearts of the complacent Yankee populace. The result was the raid on St. Albans.

While some Confederates cleaned out the banks on October 19, the rest of the raiders kept the streets clear of civilians and rounded up horses for the getaway. Young knew that he must be well on his way before word of the raid reached the many employees of the Vermont Central Railroad, whose repair shop facilities were located on the outskirts of town.

The first stunned residents of St. Albans who were escorted to the town green had quietly complied. Collins Huntington, who was on his way to pick up his children at school, refused to obey one of the raiders, however. When he began to walk away from the green, the Confederate fired and Huntington was struck in the back. Luckily, the bullet hit a rib at such an angle that he sustained only a flesh wound.

Vermonter Leonard Bingham spotted Lieutenant Young stealing a horse and tried to pull him out of the saddle. Several of the raiders shot Bingham, leaving him lying in the street with a serious stomach wound. Moments later, as Young was gathering saddles and tack from Fuller's Livery Stable, he was surprised when the owner, Edward Fuller, jumped out from behind a post, leveled a derringer at him and pulled the trigger. The derringer's hammer clicked harmlessly, and Fuller raced out of the stable with the enraged Young in hot pursuit. Young had Fuller in the sights of his revolver when the speedy stable owner ducked behind a tree. Young fired and the bullet flew harmlessly past Fuller but struck Elinus Morrison, a carpenter from Manchester, N.H. Ironically, Morrison, the raid's only fatality, was known to be a Confederate sympathizer.

By that time, most of the raiders were mounted and ready to finish the last phase of their mission—the destruction of the town. They had come equipped with 4-ounce glass bottles containing a chemical called "Greek Fire," which was supposed to burst into flame when the bottle was broken. When the raiders threw the bottles against the buildings along Main Street, however, nothing other than a nasty odor resulted.

Abandoning their efforts to burn the town, the raiders organized themselves for the 15-mile flight to Canada and safety. Several of the townspeople fired at the fleeing horsemen. St. Albans resident Wilder Gibson claimed that he saw one of his rifle shots strike a raider. Allegedly the man died from the wound, but there is no recorded evidence to support the claim.

The raiders easily made it to Canada, where they broke up into small groups and found lodging in farmhouses and barns in what is now the province of Quebec. If the raiders bedded down with a sense of security on the evening of October 19, however, they were badly mistaken, because Canadian constables were racing south from Montreal and bands of angry Vermonters had not even paused at the border as they hunted their prey.

During the early morning hours of October 20, many of the Confederates were rounded up by Canadian authorities who, while sympathetic to the Southern cause, were not at all sure if these men were common thieves or bona fide combatants. Other raiders, including Young himself, were captured by vigilantes from Vermont. Canadian constables were able to intercept the illegal posses and, using a combination of threats, promises and diplomacy, convinced the Vermonters to relinquish their prisoners.

President Abraham Lincoln initially ordered Union forces to pursue the raiders into Canada. Later, realizing that such an order would probably touch off a crisis with Britain, he rescinded the order.

By the end of November, 18 of the Confederates had been apprehended and secured in the Montreal jail, where they were treated as celebrities. Young, displaying a youthful narcissism, was allowed to send a letter containing three dollars and a request that the *St. Albans Messenger* be forwarded to the prison so that he could read accounts of the raid.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government tried to build a legal case for extradition of the raiders. After hearing arguments for both sides, a Canadian court ruled in January 1865 that "the transactions in St. Albans, Vermont, were acts of war," and the raiders were set free. The government of Canada did, however, return $88,000 in confiscated cash to the United States.

Although Lieutenant Young insisted that the remaining loot, some $120,000 worth, was delivered to the Confederate Commission in St. Catharines, there is no evidence to back up his statement. The fate of the five or six raiders who evaded capture also remains a mystery.

It is known that Bennett Young returned to Kentucky after the war and became a successful lawyer. Young authored a book about Confederate irregular cavalry but, curiously, left no record of his actions at St. Albans. Eventually he was elected commander in chief of the former soldiers' organization Confederate Veterans.

In July 1911, General Young, as he was now called, journeyed to the city of Montreal with his wife and daughter. Toward the end of his visit, he hosted a small reception at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel. In full-dress Confederate uniform, he entertained a delegation from St. Albans, which included the editor of the *St. Albans Messenger*, the congressional representative from northern Vermont, and an eyewitness of the raid. Into the wee hours of the morning they ate, sipped cocktails and reminisced about old times. As they say, time heals all wounds. □

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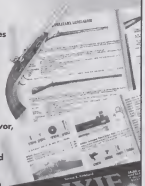

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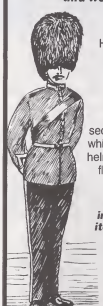

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LETTERS

Continued from page 8

ron of Lancers rode out to flank the brigade, dismounted and began firing with their "magazine carbines" (Lee-Metfords). That forced the infantry to change their front, at which point they began to advance on the dismounted cavalry.

Concluding his narrative, Churchill wrote: "The [cavalry's] fire was accurate, and there can be little doubt that the moral effect of the charge had been very great and that these brave enemies were no longer unshaken. Be this as it may, the fact remains that they retreated swiftly, though in good order, towards the ridge of Surgham Hill, where the Khalifa's Black Flag still waved, and the 21st Lancers remained in possession of the ground—and of their dead."

The Lancers were indeed roughly handled, but with the Dervish brigade in retreat and the British in possession of the contested ground, the victory, however small, belonged to the 21s Lancers.

Andrew J. Bernhard
Stockton, Calif.

The author responds: The point at issue in my article was not who won the encounter, but the degree to which the Dervishes achieved their goal of inflicting maximum casualties with the least possible loss to themselves. The Sudanese historian of the engagement is satisfied that his people succeeded:

"Osman Digna gathered his men for an assault. No more than 600 yards separated the two sides. But the Khalifa, now on horseback, ordered him to hold back. . . . Then the Lancers stopped, rallied once more and retired at a slow trot to the zareba, bearing their dead and wounded with them.

"The 21st Lancers suffered 70 casualties, dead and wounded, and 120 horses; for a cavalry regiment this was a serious and costly loss. Osman Digna, on the other hand, lost 30 men."

Mr. Bernhard's premise that "he who holds the field has won the conflict" is an unsatisfactory criterion for judging a battle's outcome. Thus Maj. Gen. George Crook claimed victory at the Rosebud River on June 17, 1876, because the Sioux broke off the fight, but they retired only as far as the Greasy Grass, where they subsequently annihilated Lt. Col. George A. Custer's command. Again, the Sioux left the battlefield, but does Mr. Bernhard want to claim that the Little Bighorn was a victory for the 7th U.S. Cavalry?

Dr. Charles H. Goodson

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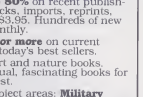

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PERSPECTIVES

Continued from page 18

edition of his magazine, Hubbard was annoyed by what he considered some lazy and incompetent employees of his firm. His son, wanting to get his father's mind off his frustrating day, engaged him in a lively discussion about Rowan's mission. Somehow the two trains of thought—his lazy employees and Rowan's solo journey across Cuba—came together in Hubbard's mind that evening, and in the space of an hour he wrote the one essay that would make his mark in the public's eye.

The next day he added his essay, titled "A Message to Garcia," to his magazine's March lineup. Hubbard—to his credit—clearly stated that the particulars of the mission, military or otherwise, were "things I have no special desire to tell in detail." He stressed instead the lessons he felt could be learned from what Rowan had done—duty, obedience to orders and persevering over all obstacles in order to accomplish the tasks assigned by one's employers. "The hero," he wrote, "is the man who does his work." He translated Rowan's action into a moral essay implying that an employee who followed his superior's instructions without question and did his duty was one who could "do the thing—Carry a message to Garcia."

Within days of the publication of the March edition, Hubbard's office was bombarded with requests for copies or reprints of the issue. When he asked what had stirred up such interest, his staff replied, "It's that Garcia stuff!" Hubbard had struck a chord with industrial magnates, "robber barons" and lesser business owners who wanted to distribute copies of the essay to their employees as a lesson in obedience and duty.

Three weeks later, Hubbard was overwhelmed by a request from George H. Daniels of the New York Central Railroad for "one hundred thousand Rowan article in pamphlet form," which Daniels intended to distribute to his workers. Not having the resources to handle such a request, Hubbard gave Daniels permission to use outside assistance to print the pamphlets. They were subsequently produced in three editions of a half-million copies each and distributed throughout the New York Central and other rail lines as well as numerous other industries large and small.

A year later, in 1900, as the pamphlet was in its third edition, Daniels played host to the director of the Russian railways, who had come to the United States to see the country and to study the New York Central Railroad, with an eye toward improving his own country's railways. During the months of seeing everything from management operations to rolling stock, the Russian became acquainted with Hubbard's essay. Impressed with its appeal to duty and obedience, the director took numerous copies back with him to Russia, where he had it translated and distributed to all the railway workers. Within a short time the essay was brought to the attention of Czar Alexander II, who in turn ordered it issued to all military and government personnel.

It is unknown whether the Germans acquired copies of the essay from America or France, where the essay was becoming popular in high government circles, or from agents in Russia, but by 1903 a German translation of "A Message to Garcia" appeared and was brought to the attention of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Once more, it was ordered distributed to all members of the military and government. Hubbard's co'l for duty and obedience had found powerful promoters and a huge audience.

In 1904, while Russia and Japan battled over Manchuria, Japanese officers noticed that many Russian prisoners, officers and soldiers alike, had in their possession Hubbard's essay in pamphlet form. Within a short time a Japanese translation was placed before the emperor and subsequently issued to all Japanese military and government personnel even after 1905, when the war with Russia ended.

Hubbard, meanwhile, took no great notice of the widespread distribution of his essay, and in later editions of his collected essays he wrote an apologia as a forward in which he dismissed "A Message to Garcia" as "a literary trifle." He went on to busy himself with other writings and started a second magazine, *The Fra*, in 1908. Hubbard was popular on the lecture circuit in the United States and abroad, but none of his other writings ever came close to generating the kind of interest that "A Message to Garcia" had.

Realistically, there is no way of knowing whether Hubbard's essay influenced the average rank-and-file soldier or sailor of Germany, Russia or Japan, but it certainly did not detract or counter the message of duty and blind obedience drilled into the servicemen of all three countries. And it may have in fact added a drop or two to the onrushing tide of events that led to World War I.

Had Hubbard lived to see all of World War I and its aftermath, he might have reflected upon what effect his words might have had in the scheme of things. But before the United States entered the war, Hubbard died at age 58.

It is open to conjecture whether the German officers and sailors of the submarine that sank *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, had read Hubbard's essay and had taken his call for obedience to heart. In any case, they certainly did their duty that day, sinking the Cunard liner off the Irish coast, killing 1,198 persons, of whom 128 were Americans, including Elbert Green Hubbard.

Perhaps "A Message" had been returned to sender. □

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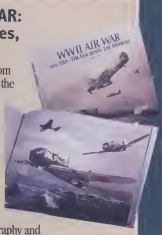

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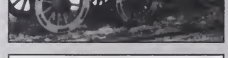

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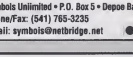

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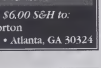
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The title of the publication is Military History. (ISSN #0889-7328). It is published bi-monthly plus a March issue. The known office of publication is located at Cowles History Group, Inc., 741 Miller Drive, SE, Suite D-2, Leesburg, VA 20175. The general business offices are located at Cowles Enthusiast Media, 6405 Flank Drive, Harrisburg, PA 17112. The publisher is Cowles Enthusiast Media, 6405 Flank Drive, Harrisburg, PA 17112. The editor is Jon Guttman, Cowles History Group, Inc., 741 Miller Drive SE, Suite D-2, Leesburg, VA 20175. The Managing Editor is Carl von Wodtke. Cowles History Group, Inc., 741 Miller Drive, SE, Suite D-2, Leesburg, VA 20175. The owner is Cowles History Group, Inc., 741 Miller Drive, SE, Suite D-2, Leesburg, VA 20175. The sole stockholder owning 1% or more of the total amount of stock of Cowles History Group, Inc., is Cowles Enthusiast Media, Inc., 4 High Ridge Park, Stamford, CT 06905. There are no bondholders, mortgages or other security holders. The average number of copies printed per issue during the preceding 12 months was 166,407; for October 1998, 159,171. The average sale of copies through dealers, carriers, street vendors, and counter sales for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 34,760; for October 1998, 33,795 The average sale of copies through mail subscriptions for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 90,788; for October 1998, 81,709. The average total paid circulation per issue during the preceding 12 months was 125,548; for October 1998, 115,504. The average number of sample, complimentary or free copies distributed for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 113; for October 1998, 116. The average number of copies distributed free outside the mail during the preceding 12 months was 1,755; for October 1998, 1,239. The average total free distribution during the preceding 12 months was 1,868; for October 1998, 1,403. The average number of copies distributed for each issue during the preceding 12 months by all means was 127,416; for October 1998, 116,909. The average number of copies not distributed for office use, leftover and spoiled for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 1,137; for October 1998, 785. The average number of copies returned from news agents for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 37,854; for October 1998, 41,477. The average number of copies distributed for each issue during the preceding 12 months by all means was 166,407; for October 1998, 159,171. The average percent paid and/or requested circulation for the preceding 12 months was 98.53%; for October 1998, 98.86%.

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FINLAND'S TOP ACE

Continued from page 48

spected position in our formations. I was also a leader in section and division formations, and I often was an instructor, too.

MH: Were there any fellow Finnish airmen whom you particularly admired?

Juutilainen: I considered all of my colleagues top guys. If I had to pick just one, it would be Oiva Tuominen. He was a brilliant pilot and an exemplary combatant, with 44 victories. When he saw an opponent, which he usually did before anyone else in the flight, he had already formulated a strategy and proceeded to implement it.

MH: What of your postwar aviation career?

Juutilainen: I stayed in the *Ilmavoimat* until May 17, 1947, when I retired. I then continued flying in general and commercial aviation. I also had my own de Havilland Tiger Moth, which I could fly on wheels, pontoons or skis. I have flown only occasionally since the mid-1950s.

MH: Have you met any Axis colleagues or former Allied opponents since the war?

Juutilainen: After the war, I met a very interesting old French pilot, Robert LePetit, who had been a squadron commander in World War I. He told many interesting stories about the French ace of aces, René Fonck. I also met a Russian general. He told me that he had heard about me almost every day during the war, and now he wanted to meet me. We discussed all kinds of things, and then I offered him a flight in one of our Messerschmitts. He just smiled—he was already so fat that we needed a shoehorn to get him into the tiny cockpit of the Messerschmitt. I also met some Allied airmen. One of them, an American, had been in Boeing B-17 Flying Fortresses and flew 33 missions over Germany. It was interesting to hear about those operations. In Finland, we have a brotherhood of wartime pilots. We meet once a month and enjoy the friendship that is refined by hard times.

MH: Do you have any additional comments on any aspect of your career in aviation?

Juutilainen: I think that history has shown the value of air power. If a nation wants to be free and independent, it has to invest in the fighter force. In those investments, quality is much more important than quantity. And the quality of the personnel is more important than the quality of the materiel. Well-trained, first-class fighter pilots are a nation's strategic asset, which must be kept in good shape. □

Military History *editor Jon Guttman would like to thank Lt. Gen. Heikki Nikunen (Finnish Air Force, ret.) for his help in translating and preparing this interview. Recommended reading:* Finnish Fighter Aces, *by Kalevi Keskinen, Kari Stenman and Klaus Niska; and Juutilainen's autobiography,* Double Fighter Knight.

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The 'Daughter of the Confederacy' found love with a Yankee, but the couple's happiness became a casualty of war.

By C. Brian Kelly

He was 28 and she was 23 when they met two decades after the American Civil War. He was a Yankee, born and raised in upstate New York, the grandson of a famous abolitionist who had helped runaway slaves find their freedom before the Civil War. She, born a year before her family had to flee from the Confederate capital, Richmond, was known far and wide in her native South by her special nickname.

Her name was Varina Anne Davis. At her birth, her mother, also named Varina, exclaimed that the baby girl looked "like a little rosebud." The family, however, didn't call her Rosebud or even Varina or Anne. She became "Winnie," the same affectionate name her father always called her mother.

The South knew her by another nickname altogether. It was a title, really, given and meant to be borne with pride…but in her later life one that proved a sad burden.

Talk about star-crossed lovers! The question here was: Could a young Yankee, even two decades after the last shots of the Civil War had been fired, marry and live happily ever after with the winsome Winnie, still known far and wide as "Daughter of the Confederacy"? Actually, his answer was yes. And hers was yes…but then, maybe no.

To go back to that proud burden Winnie carried is to go back to Richmond, Va., in June 1864. For that was when she was born, the last child of Confederate President Jefferson Davis and his wife Varina.

It was a poignant moment for the Confederacy's first couple—they had lost their 5-year-old son to a fatal fall from an open porch at the Confederate White House just two months before Winnie's arrival. Her birth came at a low ebb of Confederate fortunes, too. The losses at Vicksburg and Gettysburg of 1863 were recent history; the Wilderness and Spotsylvania were fresh and horrifying memories; and now would come the siege of Petersburg, leading irrevocably to General Robert E. Lee's capitulation at Appomattox the following April.

Winnie would be too young to remember, but that was when her mother had to gather up her young ones and flee the Confederate capital—soon to be followed by her father and his chief governmental ministers.

The two entourages briefly met in Georgia before the Federals caught up and nabbed them all. Jefferson Davis languished for months as a Federal prisoner held at Fortress Monroe, Va. And then, upon his release, began the family's wanderings—to Canada, to Europe, to Memphis, Tenn., back to Europe and finally to Beauvoir, a Gulf shore estate at Biloxi, Miss., where Davis would complete his personal history of the Confederacy, with his wife's help.

Davis didn't finish his mammoth, two-volume work (*The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*) until 1881. By then, of course, Winnie, Daughter of the Confederacy, was growing up. In just a few years, she did indeed become a most attractive young lady, and that's when she fell in love—with her Yankee!

It came about in 1886, when she and her mother attended a party held in their honor at the home of an old family friend in Syracuse, N.Y.—Dr. Thomas Emory, a Confederate Army veteran.

One local attendee was quickly smitten by the visiting Winnie Davis, Alfred ("Fred") C. Wilkinson, a young patent attorney. Wilkinson's forebears included his banker father, his jurist grandfather—and on the maternal side, his abolitionist grandfather, Samuel J. May, a minister widely known for his role in helping slaves escape from the South through the Underground Railroad.

At first, the young couple, separated by geography, did not reveal their feelings to Winnie's mother and father, but the letters flying thick and fast between Syracuse and Biloxi for the next two years were evidence enough. The day of reckoning came when Fred turned up in Biloxi one day in 1888 with marriage on his mind. Mrs. Davis, aware of the heavy correspondence but opposed to her daughter's "union with a Yankee," soon relented and even conceded that Winnie's young man was a "refined well-born Yankee, full of energy, spirit and love [for Winnie]."

Jefferson Davis was a tougher nut to crack. His reaction to the newly arrived suitor's intentions: "Death would be preferable." But according to Anita Monsees in the New York Historical Society's publication *Heritage* (January/February 1991), Winnie's father also "was swayed by Fred's evident love for his daughter, and the two became companionably close, with the Confederate leader issuing a warm invitation to Fred to return."

Before this, it might be noted, Winnie had suffered from "both physical illness and bouts of profound depression." Now, said her mother, a suddenly blooming Winnie was "like one out of prison." The next year, her father agreed to the couple's marriage plans.

Winnie at last had her parents in her corner, but not, it turned out, her friends and others in the South. With her family receiving threatening letters after word of the romance seeped out, Winnie's health took a nose dive. "That fall," wrote Monsees, "the Davises packed a wan and depressed Winnie off to Europe with their friends, the Pulitzers" (who, incidentally, urged her to go ahead and marry Fred "in spite of Confederate sentiments").

Then, in 1889, while Winnie was still in Europe, Jefferson Davis died. "Winnie's response was to undergo a severe nervous breakdown," Monsees noted. At the widow Davis' urging, Fred rushed to Winnie's side in Naples. When he returned in April 1890, Mrs. Davis insisted on announcing the engagement, news that "hit the nation's press like a bombshell," according to Monsees. In the South, "the earlier adverse reaction… increased exponentially."

Winnie returned in midsummer, apparently still shaken by all those events. Soon, in August, a postponement of the marriage was announced. "Miss Davis not desiring to be married until after a year of the date of her father's death" was the only explanation given.

The final sad step came in October: The engagement was off. No personal details revealed, certainly not by the chastened Fred, a gentleman to the end. The New York *Tribune* reported, "If Miss Davis had broken off the engagement, [Fred] had no doubt that she had good reasons for doing so."

Winnie's mother publicly blamed her daughter's fragile health, but it also seems Mrs. Davis and Fred had argued over his discovery that summer that she secretly was investigating his financial status.

In the years to come, Winnie published a pair of syrupy Victorian novels and frequently took part in ceremonial events…as the Daughter of the Confederacy, naturally. She died young, at age 34. Her one-time fiancé died at age 57 while recuperating from a nervous breakdown of his own.

Neither one of them ever married. And who today can deny they died as belated casualties of a terrible war? □

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